

Επίσκοπος Απόσκοπος.

THE BISHOP

BUSIED BESIDE THE BUSINESSE:

OR

That *Eminent* OVERSEER, Dr. John Gauden, Bishop of Exeter so *Eminently* OVERSEEN, as to wound his *Own Cause* well nigh to Death with his *Own Weapon*, in his late so *Super-eminently*-applauded Appearance

For the { *Liberty*
 { *Legitimacy* } of { *Tender Consciences.*
 { *Solemn Swearings.*

Entituled,

A *Discourse* concerning *Publick Oaths*, and the Lawfulness of *Swearing* in *Judicial Proceedings*, in order to answer the *Scriptures* of the QUAKERS.

Which singularly double *Discourse* is, in the *Two Parts* of this following *Animadversion* of it, both seriously, and singly *Discoursed* with, and *Discovered* to be

Not more (*Pretendedly*) AGAINST Persecution for Conscience,
Than (*Really*) FOR it;

Not more (*Intentionally*) FOR Solemn Swearing among Christians,
Than (*Effectually*) AGAINST it.

By { *Samuel* { Prisoner in Newgate,
 { *Fisher*, } for the Truth of Jesus.

Quis non Ridet? Qui non Videt.

Suo Se Jugulavit Gladio.

Evangelica Veritas non recipit Juramentum. Hieron.

Non Oportet ut Vir, qui Evangelicè Vivit, Juret Omnino. Chrysost.

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TO THE READER.

TO say nothing here how far the Bishop's Book (which this relates to as an Answer) falls short of that Beauty and Strength of true Religion, Spiritual Sense, and sound Reason it pretends to, which it scarcely seems in some parts of it to have so much as the ordinary Lineaments, and Symmetry of: at least in our Apprehensions, who are wholly strangers (save that we see it in sundry of these Polemical Pieces, that by the Parochial P.P. Priests of all the three Postures, viz. Papal, Prelatical, and Presbyterial, have been put forth against us, and that Eternal Truth of God still testified to by us) to any such Self-subverting Sermons, and unsaid Sayings, as the said Book consists of: Had we discerned in it any considerable weight of Argument, or Sufficient Evidence to Bounce the main point undertaken (i.e. the Lawfulness of Swearing) to the Conviction of our Consciences, we should very likely either in Print have signified our Subscription to it, or else have sat down in silence, and thereby at least signified our Satisfaction.

And (even as nothing as it is to its propounded Purpose) we could (but that we must say for Truth's sake, with him of old, who of a Priest, was made a Prophetical Repriser of the Priests, Jerem. 17. 10. Wo is me my Mother, for thou hast borne me a man of Strife and Contention to the whole Earth)

The Epistle

be very well contented to be silent, rather than to be found ore and ore again contending with every new Opposer of those Old Truths, the Old Encounterers, and their most Critical Encounters of which have been prostituted by us long ago.

Moreover (to let pass those other disadvantages our adventure upon, *off* [Cæteris imparibus] our present Low, Streined, Imprisoned, and in a manner Condemned Condition, by reason whereof, as *Damnati Lingua vocem habet, vim non habet*, so we may expect our Words, how true soever, should gain but small Credit against the Bishops) we have so much the smaller Encouragement to reply at this time, sith, by so doing we expose our selves to the Lash and Severity of a sharp Law, some of the Executioners of which are (in their blind Zeal and malicious Minds) far more Rigid, Sharpe, and

Severe in their Hyperbolical & Prosecution of it, then we are yet apt to believe the most Supream Enactors of it were, at their Enacting it, in their Intentions.

All which notwithstanding, for as much as the Internal, Eternal Truth of our God, which we have known, received and belived, is very precious, honorable and of great esteem with us; yea, far more than either Life, Liberty, Estate, or any External Treasure, or Enjoyment whatsoever, and considering how it lies at stake so in this Case, that our Total Silence might not unlikely be mistaken for consent, and have apt some are to deem all their Assertions of us, Assertions and Arguments against us to be owned and assented to by us, if they be not answered (though else it might have been more Prudential, as to the expedience of our Liberties, and Estates, to have forbore in such a juncture) we could do no less (in order to the clearing of our selves from the Calumnies, which continue to be cast upon us by both Parties and People of different Principles and Perswasions, and clearing

clearing of that Truth we hold forth both more generally (as concerning the Light) and more particularly (as to the Case of Oaths, about which we are so angrily contested with) than ever our dissent in publick in such wise, as in the Book en-
fines.

Which Book in both the Parts thereof, into which it stands divided (respectively to the two sorts of matter, which is handled in the Bishops (viz.) that about Liberty, and compulsion of Conscience, and that of Swearing before Courts of Judicature) is devoted (Reader) to thy most serious, and impartial Perusal, that thou mayest see how the Bishop in the self same Work wherein he labours earnestly to bring all men to (be Conformitants to him, is found a most egregious Non-conformitant to himself: For in his Epistle, and in the former part of his Undertakings, which is more positive, this Bishop seems in very many passages of it to be much what of the temper of his (quodam) Predecessor

* and Reasons much against the Inhumanity, Anti-christianity, Uneffectualness, Unsafeness, Unlawfulness, Tyrannousness, Irreligiousness, Unrighteousness, Unreasonableness of meer Plagiarie Counsels, Punitive Courses, Sharpe Penalties, Flagellant Methods, the Cudgel, Sword, Prisons, Banishments, Plunderings, Sequestrations and such like, as if he had indeed so much Native Candour, and true Christian Charity, as did constrain him, after

Viz. Joseph Hall, once Bishop of Exeter, who allowed of Variety in outward Forms of Worship, saying, in pag. 58. of his Sussurrum thus,

It is a great and insolent wrong in those who shall think to reduce all Dispositions, and Forms of Devotion and Asages into their own, since in all these there may be much Variety, and all these different Fashions may receive a gracious acceptation in Heaven. One thinks it best to hold himself to a set Form of Invocation, another deems it far better to be left to his Arbitrary and Unpromoditated Expressions, &c. and pag. 60. O God, let my main care be

the

to look to the Sincerity of my Soul, and to the sure Ground of warrant for my Actions: for other circumstantial Appertinances, whereof thou art pleased to be liberal, let not me be strait-hand-ed.

And pag. 184. It is a true Word of the Apostle, God is greater than our Conscience, and surely none but he, under that great God the Supreme Power on Earth is the Conscience: every man is a little World within himself, and in this little world there is a Court of Judicature erected, wherein next under God the Conscience sits as the Supreme Judge, from whom there is no appeal, that passeth sentence upon all our Actions; upon all our Intentions, for our Persons absolving one condemning another, for our Actions allowing one forbidding another; if that condemn in vain, shall all the World besides acquit us, if that clear us, the doom which the World passeth upon us is frivolous and ineffectual. I grant this Judge is sometimes corrupted with the bribes of hope, with the weak fears of loss, with an undue respect of Persons, with powerful Importunities, with false Witnesses, with forged Evidences to pass a wrong Sentence upon the Person, or cause for which he shall be answerable to him that is higher than the Highest; but yet this doom (though reversible by the Tribunal of heaven) is still obligatory here on Earth: So as it's my fault that my Conscience is misled, but it's not my fault to follow my Conscience.

the Genius of Primitive Christians, (who were never excus'd in the Infusions of any such (as Carnal, & Cruel) censures on the outward Man, whereby to convince the Conscience) he did utterly abhor and detest all such doings upon the score of Religion only.

Nevertheless, considering not only various Passages intermingled among the above said matter, standing as it were diametrically opposite thereunto, wherein he pleads the Destructiveness and Injuriousness of lenity, and no less than even a necessity of the use of such Severities more or less to the most modest and moderate Dissenters, to the Peace, Safety and happiness of the Community, but more especially considering his confessed consent to that acknowledged unreasonable issuing out of that Act for the Non-toleration, Coercion, Compulsion

on of the Quakers themselves, whom he deems to be the Innocentest of modern Dissenters; together with such other concurrent Circumstances, as are onely thus hinted at here, seeing they are more largely handled in the Book it self, to which the Reader is hereby referred: saving all his fair and formal Shows of so much Favour and Facility to tender Consciences, as he would fain seem to be found in, his charitable Endeavours (as he calls them) to more truly tend (what ever they pretend to) to the Re-establishing, than to the total Removing of that Antichristian Yoke of Persecution for Conscience (complained on and cried out against by the Bishops themselves, as well as others, when they felt the weight of it) from off the necks of Christ's truest Disciples: whom (forasmuch as their Possessors slay them, and hold themselves not guilty, yea, count, and sell them all the day long, as Sheep for the Slaughter, and then say, Blessed be the Lord, for I am Rich, yea, their own Shepherds pitty them not) Christ Jesus therefore, the great Shepherd and Overseer of their Souls, to whom they are now returned, from whom they once went astray after the other, who fed them in the barren places of the Forrest, and drove them from Mountain to Hill in their dark and gloomy Day, will most assuredly feed and gather, and destroy that Yoke from off their Necks, and that heavy Burden from off their Shoulders by means of the Anointing: And as to those Shepherds among whom the Poor of his Flock are as the Flock of the Slaughter: I will eat the Flesh of the Fat (saith the Lord) and tear their Claws in Pieces, yea I will destroy the Fat and the Strong, and feed them with Judgement so that that which dieth let it die, and that which is to be cut off, let it be cut off: yet those three S.S. Shepherds, whose Soul hath abhorred me saith the Lord, and my Soul loatheth them, I will cut off in one Month: They have been as a swift Dromadary traversing her way as a wild Ass, used to the Wilderness, snuffing

sing up the Wind; so that in her occasion none can reverse her; yet in her mouth she shall be found; They have dealt treacherously with the Lord, they have begotten strange Children; now shall a month destroy them with their Portions; Ezek. 34. 16. Hos. 7. 3. Zach. 11. 8, 9, 16. Yea this we say in the Lord, their Feet, which stand on slippery places in the Dark, shall slide in due time, and the things that come upon them make haste; and by how much the more in their Subtilty, by giving goodly Words, they deceive the hearts of the Simple, and seek to seem more fair and favourable than in truth they are, to plead all Persecution whatever (even Doctrinally) and yet practice it, by so much the sooner will Wrath and Ruin be upon them suddenly from the Lord, and so much the sorer and Sharper will the Stroke be, when the Lord once shall arise to smite them with the Rod of his mouth, and to rebuke with Equity for all the meek of the Earth.

Indeed it cannot be denied, but many of their words are soft as Butter, and smooth as Oyl; yea Speciem Agniam, pellem Ovinam pre se ferunt, yet Intus & in cute Mordent; Even while they cry peace, if men please them not so as to conform to whatever constitutions, are according to their own covetous Conceptions, they bite with their teeth, and prepare War against them by speaking out the proud things, that are in their hearts, proudly, contemptuously, and disdainfully against the Righteous: thus, under a shew of serving them, secretly shooting at the sincere Servants of God; so as we may say truly, they are for a toleration in all cases (excepting wherein they are against it) and against all Persecution of tender Consciences (those cases only excepted, wherein they are for it) In a word they bait us with now a bit, and then a bite, kill us with a kind of cruell kindnesse, cold Christian Charity, and as he of old, who in more spite than Real pity, with a Complement commended Christ to Condemna-

demna-

damnation, so do they at this day, who under a feigned face of friendship in the persons of his People betray him into the hands of his open Adversaries with a Kiss. But such Linsey Wolsey webs as these, will never become Garments wherewith to hide their inward Enmity against the Truth.

As for the last Part of the Doings of this Bishop, with whom we have here to do, where he is more Argumentative for that Solemn Swearing now us'd in Judicature, what little strength he is likely to appear in for it, who himself says so much against it as Bishop Gauden does, let the Reader Judge by his own, and other Authors sayings, by him cited and here recited to that purpose; *Viz. Evangelica veritas non recipit Juramentum. Hieron.* The Gospel verity doth not admit of an Oath, *Non Oportet, ut vir qui Evangelice Vivit, Juret. Ommino, Chrost.* It is not meet, that a man who lives according to the Gospel should swear at all. *Rarus apud veteres jurandi usus in Judiciis, sed crescentis perfidia Crevit Juris jurandi usus.* In the better and simpler ages of the World, Oathes were seldom used in Judicatures, but after that perfidy and lying increased, the use of Oathes increased. Bishop Gauden out of Polibius. There was no need of an Oath among Primitive Christians, it was security enough in all cases to say *Christianus sum*, I am a Christian, Bishop Gaud. p. 4. Christians (truly such) need no Oathes in publick or private, Bishop Gaud. p. 23. Nor can credit be given any more then to a lyar, to any man that swears never so solemnly, and in Judicature, who is a common swearer, and hath no Reverence of the Majesty of God, Bishop Gaud. p. 17. Certainly the affairs of Christians, both publick and private, would be no lesse to their honour and ease, if there were in no case any need, or use of Oathes or swearing, but onely such an Authentick veracity and just credulity on all sides, as might well spare

The Epistle, &c.

spare even the most true, sincere and lawful Oathes, keeping
on all sides as great a distance from Lying, as from false
swearing, Bish. Gaud. p. 22.

Quis legit Hæc, &c. ? He that can read all this, need not
go further then Bishop Gauden to find matter wherewith to
Answer Bishop Gauden concerning the unlawfulness, at
least the needlessness of any swearing.

To conclude then (for I am in an Epistle only here, and not
in the Book it self) as it's an ill Bird (as the Proverb speaks)
that bewrayes his own nest, so it's an ill Wind that blows
no body no profit: and so though the whirl-wind of the Bi-
shops Doctrine (wherein he whistles to and fro, in and out,
and sometimes round about) cannot well serve his own ill turn
against the Truth testified to by the Quakers, yet tis one good
turn at least, that it doth very well serve the Quakers where-
with to serve the Truths good turn against himself.

SAM. FISHER.

The Fifth PART

There being a Book lately put forth, Intituled, *A Discharge concerning publick Oaths, and other Lawfulness of Swearing in Judicial Proceedings*, by Doctor Gauden, Bishop of Exeter; Written (as he saith) to answer the *Scruples* of the *Quakers*; we having seriously perused the said Book with an upright Heart, and impartial Eye, to the end that we might own what is good in it, and refuse, or at least refuse what is Evil; not being opposed to any Opinion or Judgement, but what carries Demonstration of Truth with it unto and upon our Consciences (it being our Principles to keep them alwayes void of offence towards God and towards Man) do here profess in the sight of God and all men, that, notwithstanding what ever is therein written to the contrary, our belief is, that *Christ's* and the *Apostles* words, *Mat. 5. James 5.* who say *Swear not at all, by Heaven, nor by Earth, nor any other Oath, &c.* are still to be understood, as formerly upon occasion we have declared, and do now again declare in this our return and reply to the Book aforesaid, not out of *Obstinacy* and *Willfulness*, but *Duty* and *Conscience* to God and his Truth, which is dearer to us than all we have to loose for the sake of it; for as we had no *scruples* in our selves before his Book came forth (as the Bishop supposeth we had) about *Swearing*, in order to the resolution of which he pretends to write, being sufficiently clear in our *Judgements* against it: So we have met with nothing in our *perusal* of this Bishop's Book, but what hath rather contributed to the strengthening of us in our former belief and persuasion, than in the least either to the shaking of our Confidence, or the convincing us of *Error* in this our *Way and Practice*, of denying to *Swear at all*.

The Insufficiency of the Book aforesaid, & of the *Matter* therein contained to convince us, or any, that sincerely seek the truth in this particular, appears to us, and may appear unto any, who are *impartial*, both by the sundry *Confusions*, and *Contradictions*, that are to be found in it, in more points than one, and also by the *weakness* of the *Arguments* thereof, to convince the thing pretended to; both of which we

have here with as much *brevity* and *plainness*, as might well be, presented to *publick view*, in such-wise as hereafter followeth.

I. Whereas the Bishop promises very many things in order (as he supposes) to the better understanding of these two *Treats*, after his way of *Interpretation*, it may not be amiss for us to take some notice, and make some *useful observations* of sundry of those *precedent passages*, both in his *Book*, and his *Epistle* to it; which (for *orders sake*) we shall consider of, under those three *general Heads*, into which he seems to have moulded all that matter of his *Book*, which is antecedent to his *Discourse concerning Swearing, &c.*

First, his *Christian Charity* to ——— }
Secondly, his *Pity* to ——— } the Quakers.
Thirdly, his *Commendations* of ——— }

In each of which, it's not *uneasie* both to discern and to discover him to be more *Pretext*ed, then *Real*; yea, more *Uncharitable*, *Abusive*, *Ironical*, and *Condemnatory*, than either truly *Charitable*, or *Compassionate*, or *Commendatory* towards the Quakers: Yea, we cannot but see (unless we will close our Eyes) how a vein of *Scorn*, *Reproach*, *Defamation* and *Contempt*, *Persecution* and *Spoile*, runs along throughout both his *Epistle*, and all the fore-part of his *Book*, notwithstanding the most *faire* and *specious Pretences* of it to *Pity*, *Compassion*, *Mercy*, *Moderation*, *Compassion* and *Commendation*; and howbeit, it *guilds* and *plasters* it self over in many places, with some seeming shewes of *Love*, *Bowels* to, and *applauses* of the Quakers, and those tender termes of *Lemity*, *Faith*, *Gentleness*, *Humility*, *Christian Charity*, &c. superficially sprinkled up and down here and there (as a *vail*) upon the face of it, yet it goes not so disguised, but that there are Eyes, which through all those thin *Tiffany* *Princetons*, see clearly such a *frowning Face*, and *coarse Complexion*, such a *show* of *Severity*, *Rigor*, yea, and *crudelty* it self, as in case of (*Immedicableness*) the Quakers *non-conviction* of that for truth, which they have tried the *troublesome* of already, by a surer *Touch-Stone* than that of the Bishops *Traditional* talk, or in case of *Non-submission* (even after *Conviction*, which himself *confesses* would not be pleasing to God) to the Bishops bare *Conceptions* upon a Text or two (when once set forth to them by him so, or so interpreted) as to some *swearing Cause* (*per quem cuncta praevidenda*) could heartily wish (notwithstanding

might be brought to these men of the Lawfulness, & Gladly affected with such
 Love, stamping and taking such publick Oathes that ife defending
 first their Scruples, and fairly removing their Difficulties, either they
 might be brought to a cheerful Obedience in that particular, or else to
 depart without offence being God and man, while the Interest of the Law was
 published against their Fanatic, and the Security of or only impartially rather
 own Obstinacy.

And thus I have pleaded to stated this no first is
 and further recommended this previous Method of Christian Charity,
 or meekness of Wisdom, as best becoming the Piety, Humanity, and
 Honour of that House.

Secondly, As most agreeable to the meekness, Clemency of their Majesty
 to all his good Subjects.

Thirdly, As the aptest means to reclaim such as were gone astray from
 their Duty, by the errors of their Fancy.

Fourthly, As for the future the spreading of them and other dangerous
 Opinions, which are usually known under the name of Quaker-
 ism, &c.

Fifthly, As very suitable to the Profession of a Minister of the Gospel,
 as the special care of the Bishops and Fathers of the Church, Relations
 which carry in them great Obligations to Humanity, Charity, Ministerial
 Duties, Episcopal Vigilancy and Paternal Compassion to all, and
 especially Christians, who are weak or ignorant, strenuous in their Fanatic-
 ism, or dangerous in their Actions.

Lastly, I urged the Pattern of divine Justice, whose usual force turns
 in Mercy; Vengeance rarely following, but where Patience hath run
 before, instructing men of their Duty, warning them of the danger of
 their Sins, bearing with their manners for a time, and calling them to
 Repentance before the Decree come forth, to Execution. To this purpose
 I am sure I spoke, &c.

Ans^r. It is confess the Bishop uses here many good Arguments, in
 which we cannot but agree with him; that they are Cogent; not only
 so far as he makes use of them (*viz.*) for the procuring of Reprieve
 a time only, but for the putting of a stop also for ever to such an alto-
 gether Unchristian, and Antichristian Course as it is; for Christian
 by outward Penalties to Persecute any men, merely for their Conscience
 about Religion, specially Christians, who, how they can be dan-
 gerous in their Actions (as he supposes they may) and yet being
 Christians (since he who is owned by Christ to be so indeed, must
 depart from all Iniquity) we are yet to learn: Yea undoubtedly

we were in any *dangerous Opinions* (which yet is more than all the *Bishops*, were they as willing as they are averse to it, will ever be able to make proof of to our faces) it had been an *aper man* to reclaim us from them, and to stop the growth of what he in his wonted *Emphatical way* scorns at under the name of *Quakerism*, and more suitable to the *Profession of Gospel Ministers, Bishops and Fathers* of the Church, more answerable to *Divine Justice*, more becoming the professed *Piety, Humanity, and Honour* of that House, and the other also, more agreeable to the *Kings wonted Clemency*, if not to have quitted those more *rigid Inflexions* by *Penalties* altogether, yet at least to have used first those *Rational and Religious Courses*, which the *Bishop* calls *softer Applications*, for our *Instruction* of the lawfulness by *God's*, as well as *Man's Law*, of both those things, which by the said Act, on pain of *Spoils and Banishment*, are strictly imposed on us, which are not only that of *Swearing*, which the *Bishop* would fain seem to have said something (though *hoc aliquid nihil est*) more then was ever said before in proof of the lawfulness of, but also that Sin of *forbearing* to meet together to *Worship God publickly*, according to our *Consciences*, and his own *Will* concerning us.

Yea and lastly, to add one thing more, which (whether the *Bishop* forgot to urge it or no, I know not, but sure I am) had as great weight of a reason in it as any of the rest, to have *byassed and swayed* both Houses another way, whereupon the *King* himself in his *Wisdom* saw fit, as in reference to himself and them, to urge it so often in his speeches to them, as well as the *Chancellor* in one of his, *May the 8th, 1661.* more evidently and eminently consistent with that *signal Credit and Affection*, that *high repute and honourable esteem* in the hearts of his *truest Subjects*, which the first making of such *Promises*, *Crowned the King* withal, as well as with his *Truth and Faithfulness* in the performance of all those *Promises* he hath so fully and freely made, and so frequently reiterated concerning such a continued *Liberty* to the *tender Consciences* of such as should not disturb the *Kingdoms Peace* (as on our parts we have nor) that

* Witness the *Kings Letter* from *Breda*, sent to the *House of Peers*, and read in the *House May the 10th 1661.* and ordered to be printed for the service of the *House*, and satisfaction of the *Kingdom*, and now to be seen in the 89. page of the *Book of Collections* of his Speeches; whose Words are these, viz. We do declare a *Liberty* to render *Consciences*, that no Man shall be disquieted or called in question for

difference in opinion, in matters of Religion, which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom; and that we shall be ready to Consent to such an Act of Parliament, as upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us for the full granting of that Indulgence.

Also in the Kings Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affaires, dated October the 20th. 1660. it is said thus.

Let words, we do again *renew* what we have formerly said in our Declaration from *White Horse Liberty of tender Consciences*: No Man shall be disquieted or called in question for *Differences of Opinion* in matters of Religion, which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom: And if any have been disturbed in that kind since our arrival here, it hath not proceeded from any directness of ours. And page 91. We do in the first place declare our purpose and resolution, *to and full intent* to promote the Power of Godliness, and to encourage the exercises of Religion, both in publick and private. And page the 102. We do in the second place take into Consideration, and our present work is to gratifie the private Consciences of those that are grieved with the use of those Ceremonies, by listening to, and disposing with these *unruling those Ceremonies*.

And in the Kings Speech to both Houses, July the 8th. 1661. It is to put my self in mind as well as you, that I do often (I think indeed as I come to you) mention to you my Declaration from *Breda*; and let me put you in mind of another Declaration published by you selves about the same time, which I am persuaded made more the more effectual. An *English General and Christian Declaration* signed by the most Eminent Persons, who had been the most Eminent Sufferers, in which you renounced all former Animosities, and memory of former Unkindness: My Lords and Gentlemen, let it be in no mans power to charge me or you with breach of our Words or Promises, which can never be a good ingredient to our future Security.

And in the *Chancellors* Speech to both Houses, July the 8th. 1661. page 17. He told you but now, that he values himself much upon keeping his Words, and upon performing all his Promises to his people.

We say the *urgency of all these Promises* had been an Argument of as much force in it self, and as much likely to have prevailed with the House, as any of the rest, had it been in the mind of the Bishop to have made use of it (as it seems it was not) for this is enough to render the Word of the King less Creditable among all (save such as are yet unwilling to believe any otherwise of him, than that he once truly intended what was then by him so solemnly Avouched) that instead of an *Act* for the full granting of the Liberty so often promised, there is an *Act* now out for the final taking away of the same.

Never

Nevertheless, though the *Bishop* made no mention of these matters in his speech, (whether for fear, least in so doing his *Intercession* should take more effect, then he truly desired it should, or no, God knows, I will not say so, but by some other passages of the *Bishop* book, many a one may be apt to think so for all that;) yet his own Arguments might have moved (if not the *House*) yet at least himself, nor at all to have consented to so sudden a passing of that Bill, the forbearance of which (for a far longer time then was allotted, to so great a work as our *Information*) himself seemed so sincerely and seriously to plead for.

But behold, how, notwithstanding that favourable acceptance, which (he saith) his motion had in the *House* from many *Lords Temporal*, and some of his brethren the *Bishops* also; yet, contrarily thereunto the Decree is both passed and come forth against us, even before any of the aforesaid rational or religious courses, which he judges ought to have been used, were at all used towards us for our *Conviction* of our *Error* and *mistake*.

Inasmuch that howbeit his *Charitable Intercession*, and his *Pious* motion in the *House*, who (as he saith of himself, pag. 3.) as thought he in barren nor diffident *Speaker*, is rather to be accepted of, and Commended, than either Condemned, or despised (if it were indeed as he relates it, and also made in the Integrity, and sincerity of his heart) albeit it hath not accomplished its pretended End, yet we appeal to his own Conscience whether he hath not manifested, not only some *Pissidness* and want of *Charity* (saying all his fair pretences of so much love and Compassion) but also much *falseness* and *faulthiness* to the *Quakers*, as well as *unsuitableness* to his *Episcopal Capacity*, and that in these three respects.

(1.) In not putting forth himself in that *Inter-
val of time* between the *Day* of the *Bill*, and the *Publication* of it, to use the means aforesaid for our *respect*.
Information, which himself confesseth had been *suitable* to their *Profession*, as *Ministers* of the *Gospel*, and as *Bishops* and *Fathers* of the *Church* (*Relations*, which he also saith early in them great *Obligations* to *Humanity*, *Charity*, *Ministerial duty*, *Episcopal Vigilancy*, and *Paternal Compassion* to any men, especially *Christians*, who are weak or ignorant, erroneous in their *Judgement*, or dangerous in their *actions*) for to this very day we know of no such rational and religious *Courses* taken by him, or his *Brethren* to inform us of the lawfulness by

by Gods, as well as by *mens Law*, of *imposing* and *taking* of *Publick Oaths*; Yea himself confesseth, *pag. 14.* he hath never had so much as *one hour* *Conferuation* with any of *that way*: neither can the writing of this his Book with a *private* and *single* hand; or any thing that is found written therein, be *truly* said (as *pag. 30.* he deems it may) to make good such an undertaking, for these three reasons. (1) Because if there had been any thing it of *force* to our *Conviction*, yet it is born out of *due time*, for the *Alt* Commencing (and that not without his *own Consent*, if the *Bishop* will believe himself) from the 24th. of *March* last past, was in its *force* against us; a long time before his Book was Extant in order to our *Instruction*. (2) Because in his whole book he brings no proof at all, to justify the *Imposing* of *Oaths* upon any, under *Penalty*: All that he pretends to prove (any other way then by *some few mens Examples*, which cannot be all *mens Rule*;) being onely the *lawfulness* of *taking Oaths*: And no marvel, why he meddles so little with the former, since in all the *Law* of God, there is not so much as one *Command* or *Example* for the *Imposing* of any *Oath*, under *pains* or *Penalties* to the refusers. (3) Because even in that part of his Book, where he pretends to prove the *lawfulness* of *taking Oaths*, in order to the taking away of our *scruples* (as he calls them) he hath not medled with any of those *Arguments* Extant to the contrary, in sundry books heretofore written by us, but onely gives us his *own thoughts* on those *Texts* which we have disproved the *lawfulness* of *Swearing* from long ago, and would have us take those *thoughts* of his for *truth*, more from the *Authority* (for ought we see) of his *Prelatical*, *Paternal Dignity*, then any weight of *right*, or *solid reason* that is found in them; Now until the said *course* be taken, and that *respite* the *Bishop* hath craved from all *outward inflictions*, till the said *course* hath been taken, be granted, we appeal to all wise men, whether the *Bishop* hath by his *Practise*, faithfully answered his own *pretended desires* to the *House*, and whether (while he is altogether *inexcusable* therein himself) we remain not as yet *excusable* in our sufferings? Sith the very thing which the *Bishop* saith, must leave us *without excuse*, is the taking of the *aforesaid course*, until which we are *excusable* by his *own Imposition*: and when the said *course* shall be taken with the *Quakers* by the *Bishops*, who have never yet so much as given way to *discomfite* with them, then the men, who (as the Case now stands) are *deeply* and *doubly guilty* in runing violently upon them, will at least be more

excusable

excusable, and less guilty than now they are, in their proceedings with them according to the rigor of the Act.

In this respect (in which also the Bishop cannot but stand *Condemned* within himself) viz. in that quite contrary to the *Confessed* Constitution of his own *Judgement* and *Conscience*, by which he stood by so many *Arguments* convinced clearly to the contrary; Even that the way which was beyond all controverſie the best way, at least to let the *Quakers* alone some time, as to the *Execution* of those *Penalties* upon any of them, as offenders, till some *rational* and *Religious* Courses were taken with them, he hath condescended so far below the Call of God in his *Conscience*, as (all Evidence and Counsel to the contrary therein notwithstanding) to give his own *Personal* and *Episcopal* Consent to the passing of the *Bill*, and consequently to the *Execution* of all those *Penalties* upon them all as offenders. (wistle he will rather say he consents to have them suffer that *Imprisonment*, *Impoverishment*, *Banishment* the Act inflicts, not at all as offenders, but as *Innocent*, (as elsewhere in effect he does) and so mends his matter as much, as one that makes it much worse then it was before) before it was possible for such means to be used, as himself assumes ought to be the first, and judges every way to be the best and safest for *Information*; where the Bishop is far from teaching *facienda faciendo*, from Justifying the *Real Truth* and *soundness*, which was in a great part of his Doctrine to the House, by his own Example; no marvel then (though it found some acceptance among many) that it was seconded with so little Success as it was among the most, who acted contrary to it, whilst himself was found so easily drawn aside, to side in such a *Practice*, as was utterly contrary to his own *Professed Principles*; For what wise men will give heed to follow the wind of that many words and wisdom, in whom they see (while he yet speaks) so little stability, he is ready to row one way whilst he looks another, and willingly to assent to all against his own Opinion and assertions, for thus the Bishop doth in the Case in hand; he sets himself in at least a seeming Zeal of Moderation towards the *Quakers* to stir up others to Compassion and Patience to them, yet is himself so Incompassionate and Impatient, as to consent to the ruine of them in all haste, before the means of his own prescribing, and that *Previous Method* of *Christian Charity*, and *Meekness* of *Wisdom* (recommended by himself to be used first, under so many weighty reasons and Considerations, and such as are of force not with himself onely, but many

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Lords

Lords Temporal, and some of his *Brethren* also) were used to them. And here (we say) how ever he covers himself over with the *Fig-leaves* of many fair *Form*s of speech, about his *Pitty* and *Christian Charity*, he discovers in very deed, not onely a Spirit of *ambition*, *bleness*, *Cruelty*, *Malignity* and *Enmity*, but also of *deceit*, *falsehood*, and *unfaithfulness* to God and *Man*; Sith by his own *Confession* of his *previous* intimation thereof to the *House*, we understand his

* For (saith he) *However I might consent to the passing of the Bill.*

consent was given to the passing of the *Bill* against us: For if the *Bishop* had judged it either *reasonable* or *seasonable* for the *Bill* to pass against us when it did; he might more *reasonably* have acted according to his *Judgement*, and forbore to have urged so much against it.

But if it were against the *Conviction* of his *Conscience*, that it should passe till such a time, he hath the more *inexcusably* before the time of using softer *Courses*, so easily and earnestly consented against his *Conscience* to the passing of it, and must go *Condemned* in himself of such *unfaithfulness*, as is a shame that it should be found in one of his *Profession*; For as, *Qui statuit aliquid parte inaudita altera, iniquum licet statuerit, band Aquus fuerit*, he must needs passe sentence against himself, as *unequal* in his ways, who (though the thing determined should be an *equal* thing) determines it before he hath had a *fair* and full hearing of all *Parties*, much more may such a one as assents to the *Acting* of that severity against which, but just before himself very *Eagerly* argued, say with *shame* enough of himself, *Videa meliora probo, deteriora sequor*; I see the best way, but chuse the worst; and whether this *Bishop* may not say of himself the same (as to the *Case* in hand) we appeal to the *Light* of God in his own and all mens *Consciences*, since he confesseth, that for many reasons we ought to have had *respite* for a time, as to the *Execution* of the *Penalties* of the *Act* upon us, and yet confesseth his consent to the *Act* for our *Suppression* before we had it.

Object. But the *Bishop* saies, pag. 2. He might consent to the passing of the *Bill*, out of the *Justice* and *Charity*, which he owes to the *Publick Peace*, in which all private *Parties*, *Interests*, and *Charities*, must submit.

Ans. If that be *Justice* and *Charity* to the *Publick Peace*, for any to suppress all *Interests* and *Private Parties* but their own, we are yet to learn what *Justice* and *Charity* is; For the *Justice* and *Charity*, which

which we who are called *Quakers* do even owe and exercise towards the *Publick Peace*, is (as to the point of *Liberty of Conscience*) to plead the *Civil Interest* of all *Private Parties* (they behaving themselves *Peaceably* in their *Respective Religions*) in the same *Equality* with our own; Though the *Bishops* we see (might they be their own *Carriers*) would prove such *Impropiators*, as to Engrois all *Publick Countenance and Encouragements*, by the *Injunction* and *Protection* of the *Law*, all *Favour of Princes*, all *Publick Maintenance and Honour*, and use of *Publick Oratories, Publick Offices*, and *Employments of Authority*, foreign and *Domestique*, yea all advantages of what sort soever (as their proper *Honoraries*) appropriated to one *Interest*, that is their own: yea to it (and it only) as *Bishop Gandon* expresseth it in *pag. 5.* of his *Epistle*; yeras (*Universalis nec existant, nec apparent nisi in singularibus suis*) he cannot appear to be a well wisher to the *Publick Peace and welfare*, who denies it to any *Particular*, much more to all *Particular Parties and Interests*, but his own; so if all *Private Parties, Charities and Interests* must submit to the *Publick Peace*, and *welfare*, we shall then believe the *Bishops* to have that *Justice and Charity*, they owe to the *Publick Peace and welfare*, when we see them submit theirs, so at least as to let others live quietly in the *Land* besides them, but not before: That being (whatever largeness of *Love and Liberality* it may pretend to) a *Private, Narrow, Selfish, Pinching, Churlish Spirit*, and not that truly *Charitable, Publick, Peaceable, Universal, Liberal Soul*, that devalueth *Liberal things*, and by *Liberal things* shall stand, that cannot bear all other *Professions* of the same *Religion* with it self, to stand quietly, and live *Peaceably* by it self in the same *Land or Nation*; Nor are they any more true *seekers* of the *Publick Peace*, who to preserve it, destroy the *Private Peace* of those many thousands that seek it more seriously than themselves, and with no small danger of their own, then those are true *seekers* of the *Publick safety* of the whole *Ships*, who would fain sink all other mens *Cabbins*, dreaming by so doing, to save their own.

In this respect, in that after the *softer applications* and *Rational and Religious Courses*, used for our *Information* about *Quakers*, its taken for granted by him, that it is no less then *obstinacy* in us, if we be not (*ipso facto*) brought into a *Cheerful Obedience* in that particular, and that we are left without excuse before *God and man*, and both the *Truth* of

* The third
Respect.

the Law justified against our Error, and the *Severity* of it onely imputable to our *obstinacy*; so that after some *small respite*, in Case of *non-conviction* concerning the *Lawfulness* of that *Swearing* they impose; or in Case of our *non-submission*, even against *Conviction* (which *Conviction* is the *Work of God*, and not of man, and never likely to be effected whilst the World stands; so clearly are many thousands from God himself convinced to the contrary, by all that *sound Evidence* this Bishop can for Swearing hold forth from *Scripture*) then the Vengeance decreed, is to fall without Remedy, without *Mercy*, *Pity* or *Compassion*; with a heavier stroke upon the *Quakers* then before, not now as *offenders onely*, but as *obstinate offenders*, as *willful refusers* and *rejecters* of the *Truth*; and of the *Patience* exercised and *Mercy* rendered, and all this without any Colour of *excuse* or ground of *Plea* for themselves, under all their *Tribulations* in the sight of God, as well as men; Thus such as are not unwilling to see it, may easily see, that though the Bishop be viewed only by some running Reader, that eyes it not very narrowly, may seem by some passages of it to have the fair face of nothing else but *Charity*, and of nothing less then such a thing as *Cruelty*; nevertheless being well viewed in other passages of it, and in that most *Ultimate End*, which it most strenuously aims at, which is *primarily in intentione*, though *ultimately in Executione*, first in his *intention*, though last in *Execution*; then it may appear very easily to any one that *latet anguis in herba*, it carries the sting of *Severity* in the Tail of it, at least not so much *Zeal*, *Charity*, and *Pity* by far, as it pretends to. Though then the Bishop would fain seem to be very *slow* and *backward* to have *rigidity* used towards the *poor*, *filly*, *harmless*, *unwarly Quakers* (as he calls them) whom he much *Pities* as a People possibly of *no Evil minds*, and such like, yet his desire of *forbearance* towards them mainly is, that they (for all the *leadens* he moves on with) might at last be the more *Cruelly* handled with *Iron hands*; let them alone for a while, let them be vouchsafed, so much honour and favour in order to their *reducement*, as to have some *Rational* and *Religious* Course exercised to them, by those that are so high above them, as the *Bishops* and *Fathers* of the *Church*, and then, for not seeing with their eyes, *alias* not believing (as they do at Rome) as the *Church* believes, whose *Spiritual Fathers* are the *Representatives* of it) be turned over to be destroyed, as *willfully* and *obstinately* rebellious against God: The sum then of this Bishops *Christian Charity*,

and

and gives Fifty to the Quakers, amounts to as much as if he could have said, "I will give them yet a little, that they may be taken away from the land." In another column, *prophets* were *fulfilled*, and *prophecies* *fulfilled*.

But that which is more observable herein the passage above spoken to, is the Bishops' contradiction herein to himself, and to what he himself holds forth for truth in other passages; for howbeit late he condemns and objects to against us as manner of obstinate offending, if after some Penance given, as to admission of Penitents, and Confession taken (though forcible) for our Information may be found (though uncommunion has offending therein) fully to what is imposed; yet elsewhere (as namely, page To, 11.) he commends and praises it as good in the *Quakers*. In these they choose where they remain unconvinced, rather to suffer than sin against their Conscience; which to do, he himself bids, were to *sin against God, whose holy will* (faith he there) *should be the Rule of our Faith and Religion*, either seeming in real, *without any present rule of Conscience*. Nor may any Man (faith he) *Assent to any Institution, which he judges to be God's, though he sees as to the Truth of the Rule*, yet his Judgement binds so far as it represents (though in a true Sense) the supposed Light of God's will; for he who will venture to *Assent* against Conscience, though Erroneous, will also *Assent* against it though it be never so clear and perspicuous; if Conscience *Assent* according to its Error, to Sins materially against the Truth of God, if it act contrary to its appearing Principles, or Sins formally, and materially, as wilfully rebelling against the supposed Will of God. 21. Printed at L. 1701.

Mark well the Confusion of this Man; we do not deny, but that to his own great *disadvantage*, as well as the perpetual *Shame* of himself, and all such of his Brethren as go about by *outward Persecution* to fright and force men to act against their *Conscience*; in these last Words of his he utters a most *wonderable Truth*; but how grievously he *instructs* and *warns* himself and his own Sayings in the place above spoken to; he that is not *Mark* himself cannot choose but see.

One while if the Quakers do not Cheerfully obey after the Bishops rational Applications to them for their Conversion (which in reality, such are Irrational, if they all have no more, than Bishop Guille has yet said, to lay for Swearing) the Laws of men imposing Oaths upon them against their Consciences, they are to be Condemned and

...and we, too, have been guilty of the same sin, wilfully and without excuse. We, too, have been under the rigid discipline, and every one of means have rebelled, as wilfully as the others, against both God and man.

conscience before both God and man.
The Bishop *conscience* *against their Conscience,*
conscience *to be concerned on, Eviling*
himself *you are contrary to it or*
no more then *the holy Will of God,*
indeed the *the Soul, which of faith he is*
of the heart *though they Err as to the rule*
fully they *which (though*
to be Gods, *or contrary to what his Judgement*
in reference *the supposed Light of Gods*
Will, *is not which men err in, but to act contrary to what may*
man himself *is a sign of an unformal*
Man, *or one that makes no Conscience at all in things that are near*
to him, *plain, clear, and propitious, as a sign of one that hath*
not so much as *Intention, without which, there is no*
mitigation of any Fault; *yea, is to sin formally, yea maliciously, yea*
a wilful rebellion against God; *which sort of sinning*
formally, wickedly or maliciously, *by how much it is worse than to sin*
no more than *materially (as he speaks) or weakly, for want only*
of Knowledge of what is good; *by so much the greater (say we)*
is the *Guilt and Punishment: that is by right to be inflicted for the*
Sin *(as to take away a man's Life materially only, unawares, and*
with no ill mind, *is not so bad as to do it formally, maliciously*
and wilfully against the known Will of God to the contrary) and by
so much the more are they *Good, Praise-worthy and Commendable,*
(saith the Bishop himself) *who will rather choose to Suffer than*
to Sin; *upon which ground it is that the Bishop, who condemns*
as Evil with a warrant, and as Sin in the highest degree, forbids
men to sin against their Conscience, *expresses himself in way*
of Praise and Commendation of the Quakers, and in way of Favour
ship and high Approbation of this, as a good thing in them, in
much as they choose by their Profession thereof, in those Papers
given in one day to some of the Lord; *rather to Suffer than*
Sin against their Conscience, and so against God, *page 10. which*
choice of Suffering under the persecuting Hands of Men, rather than
to violate the Conscience before God, if it be so highly to be recommended

*Supposed Alliance of the Devil, which a Conscience, thaterring fall
into, can, that it cannot (whilst so) but for this way or other
withen maintain against the iurisdiction Justice and Truth of God, and
his holy will, for the formality and wilfully against the supposed Will
of God, to wit, (Contrary to) his will, and his Law
(Justice. We reply, That will in no wise relieve him from the
just censures of Absoluteness, Nullity and Confusion, which he still lies
under, in the place of that principle, that any Persecutors, or Insulters
of outward Penalties for Cause of Conscience, though yet erring, as to the
knowledge of what is Truth, forasmuch as he commands it is good
in the Qualities, for causing no Suffer, when to Suffer, against
even an erring Conscience, and yet, if his state also as good in itself
who cause them to suffer for nothing but for Non-conforming, and
makes it their proper Evil, of the time to Conform against Conscience,
than to be Cause (sincerely for want of Correction of it) to be
very Truth, (which he still evinces the Quakers Suffering, to be
a Suffering not Good, and consequently their work to be Evil, and
further good only, do make them suffer.)*
Obj. And if he say it is good and commendable comparatively only,
in respect to a greater evil, as it is from such an Integrity of the
Intention as misguides to do so, but in itself it is an Evil, as it is
Error in the Judgment; albeit a lesser Evil, than to act against
the Judgment, and so justly punishable with Penalties by outward
Powers.

Ans^r. We reply (and he that hath an *Eare*, let him hear, what *B. G.* confesseth to be the *just Cause* of the *Quakers Sufferings*) least it amounts to no less than this however, that the Bishop would have *Quakers* suffer for *choosing* of *two Evils*, whereof he says *one* of necessity must be taken) that which is the *lesser*, and consequently for doing that which is *comparatively better*, and for their declaring that, which without all controversy is the *worse*, which is as *just*, good and true a thing to the *Quakers* (were their *Indicements* as erroneous, as the Bishop would make them, and as it is certain they are *clear*) as that *middle* is true, viz. *Ex duobus malis minimum est Eligendum*.

See then, and behold the *form* and *Substance* of Bishop G. Divinity, and of his *Pity* and *Christian Charity* to the *Queen*, though he *praises, approves, and commends* it as good in the *Queen* for choosing to *suffer* for acting and sinning *materially* only.

in reference to that other sort of Sinning *formally*, he calls *good and charitable*.) Rather then to sin *formally*, *maliciously*, and *wilfully* against their Consciences; yet *concomitantly* he condemns it, not only as *erroneous*, but also such *obstinacy* and *wilfulness* in their *Errors*, as justly deserves the *severity* of the *Law*, and his *rigid Justice*, and *Punishes* to be executed on them, if after a *little respite* (though they were be convinced) they *Conform* not *contrary* to their *Consciences*.

Bish. And whereas he sayes, this is the *Snare* and *Dilemma* of the *Devil*, that an *Erring Conscience* fall under, viz. that it must *Sin* either the *one way* or the *other*; instancing in the *Case* of *Paul*, when he *Persecuted* and *Blasphemed* the *Christian Religion*, being *very* persuaded that he *ought* so to do against that way; and of others, who should think they did *God good Service* while they killed *Christ's Disciples*.

Ans. We grant that an *Erring Conscience* is indeed in such a *snare*: But this is that very *Snare* and *Dilemma* of the *Devil*, that (not the *Conscience* of the *Quakers*, which are *truly Enlightened*, and so escaped out of the *Snare* of that old *Fowler*, but) the *Erring Consciences* of their *Adversaries*, who *Persecute* them in their blind *Zeal*, are fallen into at this day; as *Paul* (while he was yet *Saul*, bruising out *Threatnings* and *Slaughter* against the *Saints*) was before the time of his *Conversion* to the *Light*, in which principle of *persecution* of men for *Conscience*, while they own it, it's *impossible* for them to escape without being *Judged one way or other*, let them do what they will; or to escape so, but that they must fall into *Condemnation* with the *Snare* of the *Devil*; for if they *Persecute* the *Lord's Servants*, and take *Crafty Counsel* against his *bidden Order*, to *destroy* and *root* them out, then *Wrath* is upon them from the *Lord*, who also will give *Kingdoms* for their *Ransom*, and *Navies* for their *Lives*, rather than let their *Causeless Sufferings* go unrequited; but if they *cease* to *Persecute* the *Saints*, of whom the *World* is not worthy, whom in their *be-nighted minds*, they think to be such *unworthy Miscreants* as are not worthy to move, and have their *Begin* it, then they are afraid they are too *negligent* in doing *God that good service*, which (according to their *Consciences* thus crookedly constituted, and erroneously opinionated) they, for want of *seeing the Light*, truly think they ought to do: Thus an *erring conscience* in principle *semper major in medio, maximus in fine*, and as

possit hunc mundum sequi: *within*; to the *Power* and *Professors* of the
Christian World, both *Temporal* and *Spiritual* *Princes*, (*Priests* and
People being gone off, and degenerated from that pure *Primitive* *Temper*
 of *Liberty* of *Conscience*, or *Toleration* of all *Religions* in
Civil *States* (men behaving themselves respectively to others with
 that *Peaceably* and *honestly* therein, into that *blatant* *arbitrary* *Prin-*
ciple of *Persecution* of *honest* men, merely for a meer *Consequence* of
non-conformity to the *Priests* needless *Superfluous* *Ceremonies*, and
 childish *Impositions* and *Inventions*, have involved themselves in such
irreparable *Sinners*, and *deep* *Dilemmas* of the *Devil*, that we may
 truly say of some of them, but most especially of some of the *Clergy*,
 who are the *stirrers* up of the *strife* (as *Christ* said of old of those
Chief Priests, who were the *Chief Persecutors* of his *Disciples* and
 of those *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, whom he called *Serpents*, and a *Gen-*
eration of *Vipers*) how can they escape the *Condemnation* of *Hell*? For
 if they defend according to their *Professed* *Principles* to us with an
invincible *Principle* to *persecute* the *Saints*, who to themselves
 who are not of the *Light* and *Day*, but *Night* and *Darkness*, seem
Sinners, then they are *Condemned* in themselves as men not *faithful*,
truthful or *honest* to their *own* *Erring* *Conscience* about those *Things*
done against *Christ's* *Disciples*, in the *Execution* of which they
think *Divine* they do *God* *service*, but as they do not according to their
own *thoughts*, whilst they think in their *Conscience*, as *Paul* once
 did, they do *God* *good* *service*, when they *kill* his *Servants*, then
 they can *never* *free* from that *Wrath*, which is *incurred* upon all the *un-*
lawful and *Children* of *Disobedience*, who are found *Rebelling* against
 the *Light*, and *rebellious* in the *will* of its *Children*; which *Wrath* is
 no other then the *Condemnation* of *Hell* it self in the *Book* of *Life*,
 the *due* *Portion* of all the *abominable* ones, which is the *Second* *Death*,
 Rev. 21. Rev. 22.

The best way to escape this *Snare*, is for all men to the *best*
 of them, to be by following the *Light* (which of this *Spirit* of
Truth is self, which by degrees leadeth all that *faithfully* follow it
 into all *Truth*) that the *Knew* or *Judgment* of their *Conscience* be
 according to *Truth* first, and then (as *B. G.* says truly indeed) to
 be accordingly; for while men say they have *fellowship* with *God*,
 and do him *service*, &c. yet walk in *Darkness*, besides the *Light* of *God*
 in themselves, in which *God* himself is manifesting his *Wrath*
 upon or *left* in each man's *Conscience*, they lie, and do not the *Truth*.

and fellow Christians to understand, that as the Times are changed, so in his Opinion, ought to be also the Method of proceeding against the Quakers, and other dissenters from themselves, and that as we were dealt with then (but very unjustly) by the Cudgel, Sword, Prison, Banishment, Plagues, and Sequestrations, proceeding from the Tyrannousness of those Times, from men void of Reason, Law and Religion, so now it ought to be only by good life and sound Doctrine, from such as have true Reason, Law and Religion, intimating also, that the Case is not so desperate as to need any such sharp Inquisition, seeing it is but to Confute the falsities of mens Private Opinions, and to rectify the obligations of their inconsistent yet innocent Actions, unto (which I say) he there must be more tender and softer applications, not counting it no less then even unreasonable and unchristian, to follow the Example of Tyranny in such proceedings, so that hereby one would think, there were some good ground to judge that this Bishop and Father of the Church (so called) would prove a Tender, Merciful and Father indeed, that did with so small a stain decline all kinds of Cruelty and Persecution, yet notwithstanding, behold how in the very next words, he insists in effect all that again; in that wise

Bishop. It may be said, it is necessary to repress by Legal Censures and Penalties, those Peculiar obstinacies, which do resist all softer applications, and endanger the Publick Tranquility, by giving Offence to settled Religion, or obstructions to the proceeding of Justice by Established Laws.

By which words he not only gives us to discern (as Ex parte M'Carten, ex parte Lawton) what is his rigid resolution, and disposition towards tender Consciences (notwithstanding his desire to be counted of a *Concord Complexion*), but also like an unskillful blacksmith, who is blind, what he built up newly with the anvil, for however the blows of his are not (as here) applicable to us, who are called Quakers (we having never been found in any *Publick* obstinacies, nor resisted in any softer applications, nor ever yet endangered the Publick Tranquility by affronts), yet the Bishop winning the last word with reference to them, and finally applying the last words to the Quakers (whom throughout his Discourse well as here, he sets with a Bit and a Kick) makes void, as well to the Contradiction of himself, as to the Interdicting of that Liberty he would fain be believed to allow the Quakers, what he himself

(21)

had said immediately before, &c so muniteth to us just occasion of *Ten-
tacles* that by those words of his (*viz.* *refracts, affronts, obstructions, &c.* he
intends no other then our *denial of Obedience*, the *Bishops* meet
minds and *wills*, and bare *non-submission* to such *Laws* of men, as
without *wounding* and *offending* of a good *Conscience* we can in no
wise submit to; so that (whatever he would seem to grant) yet all
the *Liberty* to the utmost he is *really* willing should be granted us, is
only his, and his *Brethrens* intimating to us, what is their *mind* and
Judgement in Religious matters, and the *Enacting* of some outward
Law, to require our *Conformity*, upon the not yielding of which
we are to be suppress'd by *Coercions* and *Penalties*, as *resisters* of *softer*
applications, as *affronters* of settled Religion, as *obstructors* of the pro-
ceedings of *Justice* by *Established Laws*: And this is that *cuncta prima*
temanda, which he is for, &c all the appeal that he will allow, we being
now in his judgement *unexcusable*, because we cannot see with
his eye; and this is his *Quid amplius petieram?* what could I have done
more? and these are all the *Lenitives* he affords us, before *Lancings*
and *Fomentations*, before *incisions*, or *amputations*, and no other *remedy*
before *rigor* and *severity*: so that now upon meer *non-submission* to his
and his *Brethrens* *Counsell* (which yet was never at all munitred to us
any other way, then in this his book, thrust forth above a month
after the Date of the late *sharp Act* against us) it is not to be recko-
ned any more the *scratch* of a *Perry Opinion*, but the *Gangreen* of an
obstinate and *rebellious humor*, which forceth the *abscision*, under pre-
sence of preventing a *deadly Contagion* to the *whole body*: But (bles-
sed be the Lord) they who are made partakers of his *saving health*
(as we are through his goodness and mercy) need none of these *Epis-
tolar* paternal *Remedies*, for such are under the Cure of the *great*
Sherberd, *Overseer* or *Bishop* of their *Souls*, who will make the wrath
of men turn to his praise, and the remainder of it will then restrain
him. Again it is yet further manifested, what the Bishop intends
by *Liberty* and *softer Applications* unto dissenters, from the Religi-
on established by *outward Laws*, in the next page, wherein he de-
clares, how he would have them, as no better then *Layers* of the *Pou-
litions* of *Distraction*, *Division*, *Destruction* and *Confusion*, to be de-
prived of all publick *Countenance* and *Encouragement*, and of the
fruition of the *Laws*, of the *Favour* of *Princes*, and not only of
publick *Maintenance* and *Honour*, but also of the use of publick
Churches (as he calls them) and *Oratories* of publick *Offices* and
Employ-

Employments of Honour, and Authority, foreign, and domestick, Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military, and all such like advantages, which he would have appropriated only to themselves, as their proper Honours, who can Conform to whatsoever Religion or Law may be established.

Ans. As for the Advantages of publick Maintenance and Honour, and those Ecclesiastical Offices, Employments and Preferments, which pertain to those publick Places, which they call Churches, we neither look nor seek after them, but leave them to those Ministers, who look more after the Fleece then the Flock, unto whom the Honour is more desirable then the Onus, and the Benefice prized beyond the Office of the Ministry: Nevertheless, sith the Bishop would have Dissenters deprived not only of these Ecclesiastical, but of all other Civil Advantages also: we would have him take notice, that the Deprivations of all these Privileges, were the Flagellant methods of those most Tyrannous Times: which by the Bishops own Confession in his Words before cited to his own Shame, Confusion and Confusion, (so far as he would have the same used, and yet would seem to be against them too) had nothing of Reason, Law or Religion to support them.

Bith. The Bishop saith further in the next Words thus, *With these outward Advantages added to that Internal Power of Truth and Holiness, which are in the established Religion, it may (as I think) not only be happily supported, but also prevail against all Feasible Opposition, unless the scandal, negligence, levity and luxury of Ministers, Bishops, Presbyters, and Professors, overthrow it by calling in immoral Disorders upon it, as make People disbelieve and abhor both it and them: as was in the Case of Elies Sons.*

Ans. That is a very weak and grose Religion indeed, which hath not internal Power of Truth and Holiness, enough in it to support it, and that against but feable Opposition. Without the addition of outward Force, and the other External Helps, and Advantages before mentioned: Whether the Bishops Religion be such a feable Form or no, we leave them to consider, and examine: but this we are sure of, that the true Religion, not only hath been, and ever will be supported, and will prevail without these Advantages and Privileges, but also in the midst of as deep Disadvantages and Deprivations, *Wine* *Cor. 4. 8, 9.* where the Apostle layes, *We are troubled on every side, yet not Distressed, Perplexed, but not in despair, Persecuted, but not forsaken,*

Cast down his name destroyed: & God, 610, 1, 2, &c. in all things approve our selves as the Ministers of God, in watchful Patience, in Afflictions, in Necessities, in Distresses, in Stripes, in Imprisonments, in Assaults, &c. by Honour and Dishonour, by Evil Report, and Good Report, as Deceivers, yet True, as Unknown, yet well Known, as Dying, yet behold we Live, as Chastened, yet not Killed, as Sorrowful, yet always rejoicing, as Poor, yet making many Rich, as having nothing, yet possessing all things.

Secondly, We observe that the Bishop is very doubtful, jealous and fearful (and that not altogether surely without a Cause) least the Scandal, Negligence, Levity, and Luxury of the Bishops themselves, and of the Ministers, Presbyters, and Professors of it, should overthrow their Religion now established: But if it had that Internal Power of Truth and Holiness in it, as he pretends it hath, he need not fear its being disgraced, disbelieved, abhorred, and overthrown by the Wickedness of its own Ministers (as he doubts theirs may) for the Truth will be honoured, believed, loved and established, in despite not only the Contradictions of Sinners, and the Wickedness of all such Bishops, Ministers, Presbyters and Professors that oppose it; but also of all those that profess and promote it in its Power, and not in empty Forms only (as others do) should (as God forbid, and as they themselves likely at all to do) become as wicked and Negligent, as any Prelatical Ministers are, and as themselves have once been Faithful and Diligent in the service of it: for the true and Pure Religion, which is *unspotted before God*, whereby its Children (of whom none its justified are kept unspotted from the World, stands not upon the Sandy and Slippery Foundation of outward props and advantages, but upon the inward Principle of Gods Power, which is the Power of endless life; But the Children of such Religion, (as how fair so ever they seem before men) stand not on that Rock of Ages, and are no better established then on the *unstable, frivolous Forms* of mens Inventions, derived downward by Tradition from fore Fathers, with out that inward Power of the endless life, may labour in the Fire of their own fierce Wrath and Fury, to hold up all their own Forms (respectively) yet weary themselves for very Vanity, and to as little purpose as those, who have that endless task in hand, of striving to make a dead Church stand, which (howbeit, it hath all the outward Proportion, Shape, Parts, Limbs and Legs of a living man) can never possibly stand longer, than it's held up on every side by some External

External Props or other, because (as one said) *destitit aliquid boni*, there wants the *main Wheel*, the *master Piece* of all (viz.) the *Spring* of that powerful Principle of the *Life within*.

Bilh. But I confess (saith he) I would not have this Legal and avowed Religion of the Nation, so *Rigorous, Sharpe and Severe* (as *Sarah to Hagar*) by the *sudden* overruling, or violent overlaying of all other different Perswasions in Peaceable men, as not to see them breath in the same common air, or not to enjoy their Lives, civil Liberties and Estates, with their dissenting Consciences in all modest Privacy and Sufferity; I abhor as much and dread all Racks and Tortures of mens Souls, or those cruel, no less than curious Scrutinies of mens Consciences, which cover first (like God) to search Advent hearts, and then (like the Devil) delight to torment them in their Estates and Liberties, only because they are not so wise as themselves, but as honest perhaps, and sincere in the sight of God.

Ans. Hence we may take notice of sundry things.

But first by the way, whereas the Bishop files the *avowed Religion* of the Nation, *Legal*; how *legal* it is in our sense, we matter not much for enquiring, but we grant (how little *Evangelical* looves it is) it is *Legal* enough (if not too much) in another, for it seems to us by the *Pompe*, and *Pay* of its *Priesthood*, who talk for *Tithes*, and a number more of its *Levitical Ceremonious Services*, to smell much more of the *Law*, than of the *Gospel*.

Secondly, It is very observable here, that the Bishop would seem to be against, not only the *Killing*, but also the *Banishing* of *Tender Conscientious Dissenters*, in that he saith, he would have them have their *lives*, and to *breathe* also in the *same common air*, and not only so, but also against both the *Fining*, and *Imprisoning* them, for (saith he) I would have them have their *civil Liberties* and *Estates*: Notwithstanding, all which this Bishop (with whom *Confusion* is as frequent as *contradiction* to himself) intimateth, page 4, how he gives his consent to the passing of that very Bill, which in-

*• Celum non
animum mou-
sant qui trans-
maris currunt.*

directh on them both *Fines*, *Imprisonments*, and *Banishments* from their *native Country*, and so from *breathing* in the *same common Air* with other People. But in very deed, what kind of *Liberty* and *Estates* ment it is, that in his *Pity* and *Christian Charity* to the *Quakers*, he would have granted to them, we have heard somewhat of before, though himself (seeking of *freedom* all his

and so *swear* over all his *father's* Bills, with the *fair* words of *peace* and *unity* is loath to speak it out plainly; how-
ever those very plain words appear, rather that this *Bill* hath *nothing*
with all his heart, to what he says he would not have, but *rather*
from, and desires the contrary to *with all his heart*, or else that he
loathly dissent (for so he seems to do by his wishes here) from what
which he is *heartily* assented to, when he passed his *yes* to the last
Bill, while it passed against us. *Utrum horum magis accipere.*

Thirdly, Whether the *Bishops* *wishings* and *worshippings* here to have
it otherwise, be true or counterfeit, *yes* or *no*, we shall not take
upon us to determine; but this we are well assured of, that, not-
withstanding his *express* desire to the contrary, there is executed
at this day (but it is from the seed of *Hagar*, towards the seed
of *Sarah*) such a *Judaism* *overawing*, and *violent* *enriching* of the
different *Persecutions*, from that more *Legal*, than *Evangelical*, yet
more *Religion* of this *Nation*, in those most *persecutable* men, called
Quakers, as not to let them *breathe* *quietly* in the *late* *English* *con-*
stitution, not scarcely to enjoy their *Lives* without hazard of loo-
ing them, not onely by the *Pistols*, and *naked* *Swords* of rude *Soldiers*,
from whom (though *John* the *Baptist* caught them in *the* *wild-*
erness *to no man*) no less than *Violence* is acted, but by the hands
also of some, called *Justices* of the *Peace*, who by *Kicking* and
striking the *Quakers* with their *own* *Feet* and *Fists*, break the *Peace*
more then the *Quakers*, who cannot *strike*, and as much (perhaps
in the worst of men that are brought before them, much less to enjoy
their *Civil* *Liberty* and *Estates*. Witness the present *filling* of the
Prisons with them, throughout this *City* of *London*, in order to the *Ex-*
iling of them in their *Estates*, and all this *extremity*, without the *pro-*
vision of any of those *rational* and *religious* courses to them, or *relief*
(on their parts) of the *often* *Applications*, the *Bishop* seems to
wonder to plead for; unless by *often* *Applications* he means *summon-*
ing to their *spiritual* *Courts*, *spoiling* of their *Goods*, *imprisoning* of
their *Persons* (under which also they have never yet *relented*) for
it by *often* *Applications* he intends any *Gentle* *Christian* *addressed* ex-
cusing his *own* *injustice* *Book*, which came out of due season to con-
vince them of *any* *error* he believes they hold, of this sort they
have received none as yet from the *Bishops*, though *Discourses*
have been as often *denied* by them, and by others for them, as it's
been once for all *seriously* again desired by themselves, who are

always ready, as well publicly as privately, to render an account
 what they believe and profess, and to profess themselves to be
 sincere in the Design and true Religion. Howbeit, the guilt of all
 Nations, especially, and *those* *unbelieving* *stolid*, cannot be in
 any manner indemnity by its *inside* (*innocence*) at least, imputa-
 ble to this *sin* of his Brethren, who are supream more *Arrogant*
 than *curious*, and for whom it's enough to *denigrate* what is *True*
 and direct the *truth* *defenders* of *Justice*, what is to be inflicted on
 such an *offence* against it, and *too much* to be the *Excellencies* those
 their *own* *Corruptions* and *Disparities*. But we rather impute it to
 the *Humane* *humans* of some few *haughty* *Spirits* in *superb*
Power, who (while all prudent and pious Men look well before they
 say) having not that more expected, then *deserve* *honors* of the
Man *in* *Honor*, the denial of which the King himself (to ex-
 press his *humility* in that particular) takes not so much notice of
 as some *Shall* do) from the *Seed* of the *Jews*, run on on a *mo-*
dain (with as *great* *hast*, as *little* *speed*) to the *overthrow* of the
Quakers, who stand more in awe of God, than in awe of them, and in
 such a *violent* *overthrow* of the *different* *Persuasions* of those *pre-*
sent *himself* *men*, as whereby they *overcharge* and *overset* themselves
 (through *arrogance*) so egregiously in their undertakings, as to lose
 themselves in *the* *limes* (and it's all *stumbling* at the *threshold*) and
 (*ex* *cantus* *offinans* *cucos* *paris* *catulos*) to bring forth such *blind* *bul-*
liffs in their *hast*, as when God and Man come to call them to ac-
 count, they must assuredly repent of by *lustre*, their *eye* (tho' *now*
the *last*) being enlightened then to see how they kept neither the
pure *Lights* of God, nor those very *Laws* and *Acts* of men neither,
 which they pretend to all by.

Fourthly, We observe that the Bishop likens them to the Devil,
 who first *search* *men* *themselves*, and then *torment* them in their *affairs*
 and *illusions*, only because they are not so wise, or of the same
 persuasion with themselves. Little dreaming how far forth he
 doing, he likens himself to the Devil unawares, as whether (and
 questionally) he doth not yet or may, we appeal to himself, while to the
 next World he saye, That some little pecuniary *mult* for *extra* *Law*
day *addres* *from* *the* *public* *Church* or *Assembly*, may be *justly* *due*
 (as a mark of publick dislike) upon *Disobedient* and *Separates* from
 the *established* *Religion*. And if he deems, he sufficiently *avows* *him-*
self by that *diminutive* manner of Speech, in which he speaks con-

cerning

...the most deerving of men in their Affairs, should be
 here, but some little matter of Equity, and a small thing of
 Law, may be said to be as much to his Honour, as to
 his Profit; let him remember that as *gradatim* and *non*
omnino do him no wise vary the Nature of any Tale, the Justice of
 of a penny being contrary to his Reason, and a little
 more than him therein *really* and *really*, though not *substantially* so
 different as the spoiling him of a pound; so secondly, two shillings
 a week, as (if not paid) exposes a man to Prison, that is to be *separated*
 of as to his Liberty; so (if paid) amounts to more than five pounds
 throughout the year, and that is more than many *discreet* Per-
 sons have in all to live on.

Objection. Or if secondly he shall say, we wrong him in his *private*
 because it is not for their *private* difference, but for the *public* (which
 justice (saith he) is not their fault) but for their *public* deformity, so
 justice that I would have them so punish.

Answer. We Reply, this will not at all relieve him from, but sub-
 ject him more to the just censure of contradiction to himself. And all
 private difference in judgment be not the difference of fault, then his
 own punishment according thereto, is so far from being *unjust*, that
 it is *just* and commended as good in the Quakers by the Bishop him-
 self, pag. 20. and so it were rather a fault in him to do otherwise,
 call men yielding together with
 himself, these *conscience* errors
 which in Erring conscience find
 to all according to its Evidence,
 that be further or more truly
informed; And secondly, if it be
 not his own fault, then, if he be
 punish, it must be either for the
 fault of some other, which is no
 just, on which is far more unjust,
 for that which is no fault at all.

What the words signify. In
 cited and spoken for. *Justice* all
 Jos. Hall, over Bishop of Exeter,
 (the same See where I. Gauden is
 mentioned) who saith that the duty
 of Conscience is *obligatory* to all
 men, so that though a man's
 conscience be mislead, yet it is a
 fault to follow his Conscience, but
 pag. 284.

Objection. We observe by the Bishop's own confession that the *conscience*
 may be *misled*, and *mislead* is the point of *conscience* in the *conscience*, and
 thus we need to be induced as true as to any way of *conscience* under
 the *conscience* on their *conscience* about Religion, is a way to *conscience*
 to *conscience*. But this of the Bishop may serve however as a *conscience*
 to *conscience*, and to all *imposed*, upon men's *conscience* in Religion.



Let us beware lest they be found *fig-leaves* against *Truth*, and against themselves, as assuredly they will be; if they be found *Professors* of the *Innocent*; and of such as are more *sincere* than themselves. Moreover, yet further appears, how little *Arbiter* *Arbitrarius* is, which the *Bishop* (notwithstanding his *superiority*) is willing to be allowed; by these words of his (viz.) *si vultis, quod vultis* in *Bispe* Only (such an *Arbitrary* conuenance and conditional indifferency, as is not possible for their private and nuturable Opinions; while they are kept within their *Breasts* and *Closets*; or in their private *houses* and *secrecies*, without any convention of *strangers* (or *cham*), and for to be kept within *Parochial* bounds; or so (such an number of *Persons*, &c.) But for dissenters to have multitudinous *Conventions*, as it were *gathering* of their *Forces*, when, where, and as many as they please, cannot be said, for thereby they are only *affronting* the *Religion* established, but confirm each other in their *Opinion*, as *char-coals* in *heaps*, they more kindle and enflame each other by their numbers, &c.

Answer. We never knew *Truth* yet nuturable to a *troublesome* *schismatic* and *hypocritical* Generation, though it is justified and witnessed to be the most peaceable thing in all the World by its own *Children*. But are not the *Multitudinous* *Meetings*, *Conventions* and *Assemblies* together of *Rude*, *Wild*, *Wicked* People, to *Drinking* and *Reveling*, *Wakes* and *Whisfun-ales*, *Man-games* and *Merry-dancings*, *Fencing*, and *Cudgel-playings*, *Cock-fightings* and *Beag-baisings*, *Booings*, and other *Games*, *Carding*, *Drum*, *Dancing*, *Kentish*, *Sixes* and *Stones* *Playes*, in the *Streets*, *Markets*, and *Fairs*, *Juglers*, *Peppars*, *Jack* *Landings*, where they kindle and enflame one another in *Lust*, *Wrath*, *Drunkness*, and *Wickedness*, as *char-coals* in *heaps* by their numbers, and thrive in *Swearing*, *Whoredoms*, *Dissolvings*, and all manner of *Disobedience* and *Profaneness*, much more *incapable* with the *Nations* *Sabbath*, *keeping* its *Peace* (which if ever it be true, must be able to bear and bear of *Righteousness*) *affronting* you, established *Religion* (unless it be a *Religion* that allows all *Ir-religion*, then for the people that fear the Lord to meet together to worship God in *Spirit* and *Truth* and to Preach up the *Power* of *Godliness*, that would bring people out of all these *unpious* *conuents* to that *Grace* of God in themselves, that reaches to live *Godly*, *Righteously* and *Soberly* in this World. Yet where do we find the *Bishops* and the *Fathers* of the Church, so appearing in *declamations* against these things; and where there are *Laws* and *Statutes* extant against them, yet where

who all (singing, leaving out the very last line, according to the
 band of all, who is never affected any thing) affect (some
 times) and sometimes have the influence of a better and
 cheer to each other, but (as the) of that sort (we say) are the
Quakers and *Presby* (the) Who preach and practice the Gospel of
 Peace, which in itself is, in itself, and that little, every one
 brist about those sorts of *Worship*, *External Rules*, *worldly*
Flourish, *Regard*, *Endowment*, *Religion*, *Exercises*, *Ceremonial Ordinances*,
 pushing out of one's way, *external Observances*, in which the
 Kingdom of God, which is the inward Part of the godliest life (as
 Christ and the Apostles said) neither flourish nor come; concerning
 which yet there is such an awful grief among the Nations, and such a
 dismal trial of us, by such a horrible contention as is now the world,
 as Peoples, so Who much less may, such a proving, as others do,
 with many more, and against each other about *earthly Realities*,
Disputations, *Arguments*, *Knowledge*, *Enjoyments*, *Reformations*,
Dignities, *Advancements*, and *Advancements*. A People (as the
 house of Jacob) walking in the Light of the Lord, who though they
 are in a manner of the world, which it is at last to be aban-
 dished in, the Lord of all the *Advancements* and *Advancements* above the *World*,
 in that all his time shall flow, and yet at present, while all other
 People are walking away from the Name of his God, I walk
 quietly and peaceably in the Name of the Lord their God, and
 till he himself shall arise for their help against the Mighty that op-
 press them, and wholly reform them, following Principles, as knowing
 that it is only by the blood of the Lamb, and the Word of his Testimony
 that the overcoming must be, and by so saying their lives unto the
 Death; And that the *Quakers* are of this sort, there needs no other
 Testimony to be used in place of ours, when what the Bishop himself
 gives of them, p. 10. where he not only *Retrieth* the *Quakers*,
 but *proves* them also, etc. for their *claiming to suffer*; Saying
 then he *reproves* them from *having any such ambition*, as he said
 altho other parties have had hitherto, he ought in *Righteousness* and
Reason to except them from the *foresaid* *injustice*, notwithstanding
 his *injustice* in saying, p. 10. he says that, even if there should
 appear, as it is said, that *Quakers* are, and *Quakers*, *Quakers*, *Quakers*,
Quakers, it will become the *Public*, *and* *the* *World*, *Quakers*, *Quakers*,
 them, though never so soft and seemingly Innocent as the *first* *Quakers*,
 (as in other *Quakers*) *Quakers*, *Quakers*, *Quakers*, *Quakers*, *Quakers*,
 their *Quakers* and *Quakers*, *Quakers*, *Quakers*, *Quakers*, *Quakers*,
Quakers.

words only, but in *deeds* and *actions*; *all* *sorts* of *Blasphemy* and *Rebellion* only
 upon the *score* of *Religion*; without *less* the *irreconcilable* *division* and
intermeddleship among the *most* *important* and *difficult* *matters* *possibly*
 by *be* *imposed* *upon* *again* *all* *the* *Churches* *Christians* and *Polity*; and in
 problem at once *very* *humane* and *very* *unjust*; *Part* *One* *former* *then*
necessary *for* *the* *case* *of* *offenders*, and *the* *Conservation* *of* *the* *public*
Peace under which *claim* *of* *very* *offenders*, and *preventing* *the* *Public*
Peace, the *very* *Pope* *himself*, who *pretends* *to* *Part* *and* *Christian*
Churches, as *much* *in* *words* as the *Prelates* *do*, not only
themselves *but* *their* *children* *and* *all* *sorts* *of* *their* *Children* *from*
the *score* *of* *that* *claim* *of* *Religion* for *cause* *of* *Conscience*
under *all* *that* *every* *Principle* and *Know* that he *has* *never* *exercised*
towards *those* *Dissenters* *from* *his* *See* and *Convent* *Church*, that *have*
at *any* *time* *fallen* *under* *his* *Clerical* *Cruelty*. Then he *that* *has* *not*
cut *on* *the* *right* *hand* (as he *seems* *to* *do* *himself*, though *in* *reality*
he *is* *far* *from* *it*, his *Exercise* *being* *very* *much* *rather* *on* *the* *left*)
but *walks* *apart* *from* *by* *that* *most* *ancient* *Rule* *of* *Church*, which he *com-*
mends, *but* *comes* *not* *near* *the* *Practice* *of*, which *only* *has* *in* *it*
the *true* *Humanity* *of* *a* *man*, and *the* *Charity* *of* *a* *Christian*; viz. *as*
as *he* *would* *be* *done* *unto*; for the *Primitive* *Christians* *did* *so* *indeed*,
and *as* *they* *would* *not* *have* *had* *the* *Power* *their* *own* *Country* *and*
Persecute *them* *as* *they* *did*, for they *never* *did* *Persecute* *any* *that*
would *they*, had *they* *had* *the* *outward* *Power* *to* *do* *so* *no* *not* *less*
that *denied* *Christ*, upon *the* *score* *of* *that* *both* *then* *and* *still* *blas-*
phemous *Religion* *of* *these*, in *order* *to* *such* *an* *end* *as* *the* *entire*
Offenders *and* *prejudgment* *of* *the* *Public* *Peace*; for they *know* *well*
the *weight* *prejudgment* *of* *Truth*, which *was* *the* *only* *thing* *that*
would *break* *that* *Nations* *public* *peace*, and *that* *nothing* *was* *to*
safe *for* *the* *Civil* *Powers*, and *so* *clearly* *consistent* *with* *their* *Prin-*
ciples *to* *let* *the* *Truth* *and* *its* *Children* *alone*, for *the* *sufferings* *of* *which*
by *persecution* *among* *them*, when *they* *had* *filled* *up* *the* *measure* *of*
their *fathers*, who *were* *the* *Persecutors*, *which* *at* *last* *came* *upon* *them*
the *measure*; but *this* *Religion*, who *I* *am* *sure* *would* *have* *his* *own*
have *granted* *Liberty* *would* *have* *A*, and *B*, *only*, to *have* *nothing*
all *Liberty*, but *all* *sorts* *of* *Emoluments* *and* *Advantages* *also*, *as*
way *consent* *of* *all* *sorts* *to* *what* *he* *would* *indeed* *have* *all*
and *Consent* *exercised* *with* *authority* *of* *all* *sorts* *and* *upon*
upon *the* *score* *of* *Religion* *only*, yet *with* *this* *in* *their* *power*
whereby *he* *can* *pull* *in* *all* *he* *can* *and* *can*, viz. *So* *for* *only*,

but no farther than is necessary to the curing of Offenders (as he counts all dissenters are in one fence, though (as I said again) some are offending, but obeying God in another) and then is for the comfort of the publick Peace: Neither is he less *unrighteous* in condemning the *Innocent* with the *guilty*, and giving Sentence against a People, whom he confesses to be (as elsewhere he doth) possibly of *evil minds* at present, for what they may be in *future times*, before they are so; He would think it *unjust* if we should say, he and his *Brethren* (let them say what they will, and I speak in never so much simplicity, and appear never so *harmless*; yet) are not to be *judged in their most innocent smiles* on us, because, as some called Bishops have formerly, so these in *present being*, though *Facile* and *Gentle*, yet may hereafter prove *Bloody* and *Deceitful*: And thus he manifests himself, though called a *Father*, to be not only without *Compassion*, but without the *Spirit of Judgement*, and a *sound Mind* also; and if we were indeed *ignorant*, and out of the way of *Truth* (as we are not) we find him not such a *High Priest*; as *so truly touched with the feeling of our Infirmities*, as *knows how to have compassion on the ignorant*, and on such as are out of the way: Nevertheless that he may seem the more *excusable* (after he hath pleaded *feelingly* for *indulgence*) in his *condemnation* for *non-indulgence* again, he covers and covers himself over very frequently, with such pretences as this that followes.

Bish. The insulent and seditious Expressions, thus being so tumultuary and violent Actions, especially in Pulpits and Profess, ought with great Penalties to be suppressed; there being nothing more unreasonable than for any man to deny so Blasphemy and Reproach that Religion, which his Prince and Country profess.

Answer To blasphemy and reproach that Religion which the Scripture doth profess to be the true one, as *James* 1. and which *Christ* the King of all Princes of the Earth, and his People profess, which is to keep us posted of the World, is more unreasonable than to blasphemy that, which (at a venture) a mans Prince and Country Professes; for That most assuredly is the true and pure Religion, *undisfiled before God*; while 'tis more then possible that his talk may be *offensive*, and by so much the more *unreasonable*, by how much more 'tis unreasonable to speak evil of *Good*, than of *Evil* it self.

Finally, As to this passage, let every other dissenting party, as far as they are found *Innocent*, vindicate themselves; but if they

be spoken with reference to the *Quakers*; to whom the *Bishops* Book mainly doth relate, the thing is sooner said than proved, that any such insolent or seditious Expressions, from whence, as from the Cause thereof, any Tumultuousness or Violence hath proceeded, have been yet found among the *Quakers*, or that we are found such rude Blasphemers or Reproachers; which things we justify not in any where they are found; yet are able to justify our selves, as not guilty of ought that can justly come under such a notion on a true account; but since we, who look better both to our Spirits, and to our Speeches, than to give way by either to the sowing of Sedition, Tumult, Rude-ness, Blasphemy, Reproach, or Violence against any men for their Religion, are falsely counted as sowers of such things, as Blasphemers, and Reproachers of that Religion which our Prince and Country do profess, for no other Cause then our testifying to the Truth, and our publishing that Gospel of Peace, that brings out of all War and Strife, and for declaring against the meer Traditions and Inventions of men: We would know the *Bishops* mind; if he be able to resolve us.

First, Whether his meaning be, as his Words here import, of every Prince and Country (as a Prince and Country) as well as of any one, without respect to this or that Form of Religion in it? If yea,

Then Secondly, Whether will not this Shift serve the chief Priests of the *Turke*, *Pope*, *Tartar*, *Pagan*, and all other *Ernick* Princes, to their several sorts of Religious People, as well as the *Bishops* of *England*, to say, Nothing is more unreasonable than for men to re- proach that Religion, which their Prince and Country do profess?

And so Thirdly, Whether by consequence this doth not block up the way for ever (unless unreasonable itself must make the way) against *Turks* and *Heathens* ever rejecting their own false Religion, for the true one? Sith every man who shall come to be any further enlightened in the Truth, than the dark Body of the whole Nation he belongs to, must stop his mouth from ever declaring it in order to the Illumination of others, and say as that Divine *Heathen*, or Propheatical Poet of old, who rebuked the rude manners of his Generation at *Rome*,

Ne minus iras, nec clam, nec cum scrobo, nasquam.

Fourthly, Whether the *Apollas*, who very roughly reprov'd the religious Superstition of the *Jews*, which their then King and Country also did profess (calling them stiff necked, and uncircumcised reprobates of the holy Spirit, calling the High Priest (now out of date, though

though supposing himself to stand then by divine Institution, as Christ did before Christ crucified) whited wall, (telling the Circumstances of the Confession, preaching against the Prohibitions of the High Priests, and their threatnings of them for speaking in the name of Jesus from whence often tumultuousness was occasioned, though caused only by the Malice of the Priests themselves, still stirring up their People to strife and wrath against them) were truly to be counted what by the Priests they then were counted, and as we are now by the same Generation (viz.) Insolent and seditious in their Expressions, as to be the Causes of Tumultuous and violent additions, whether they were truly counted unreasonable, rude Blasphemers, and Reprobates of the Religion of their Prince and Country? And,

Fifthly, Whether this Bishop himself, and such of his Brethren, who count us as such, for doing no other than the very same in the same Spirit and Power, would not have counted the Dissenters so then, as the High Priests then did, had these hapned to have lived in their times, and in the Religion of their Prince and Country? But no marvel if great Penalties be called for against men as seditious and tumultuous, who (but that they are so nicknamed) are more peaceable People than their Accusers; whereas only Self-interest, Self-safety, and covetous Security in Prosperity are sought after. But why had we not this mans mind herein before? it may be thought surely that either this, that man is so, was not his mind in the verses he speaks of, or else that, those times not favouring the Episcopal Religion so much as these do, he had not then so much Zeal for it as now he hath, being made a Bishop himself, and so much courage as to trust himself to it, and appear a seditious against Dissenters, that as now he doth, in the juncture of these late times of his late exaltation? And no marvel there is such a Land cry for the suppressing penalties to Dissenters, of both their Pulpits and their Presses, for then, as this was the very reason, that the Popish themselves gave all this is either Preached of Princes, Emperors, Princes and States, by the Clergy alone, may pass, that they should suppress the Writing and Printing of Books, and also Dispensing or Preaching, otherwise than according to the Interpretation of the Councils of Trent, Decretals, and other Appointments of the Church, and so stand alone, or not at all, that the Dissenters of such Books should be punished, see the List of the Council of Trent, Decretals, &c. being removed out of the way) Has the Protestants liked not when

Substantia vobis: Populus vobis
procurat, et ducit in
gaud. Consul, when they have got
others under themselves.

This course of commanding their
Ordinaries to search for heretics,
and also to burn the Books of John
Huss, as heretical, was used by
the Popish Prelates at the Council
of Constance, when and where the
said Huss himself suffered (as we
are told of a Ministry (the old
Fleece), and condemned to be
burnt as an obstinate Heretic. See
Fox. Acts and Monks. Pag. 810.

* Veritas non querit Angulus.

And whereas the Bishops own forced Words tell us,
in which he saith, *It was the genius of primitive Christians to abhor all
Severity and Rigorously upon the Score of Religion, &c.* out of whose
practice they must needs be found, who seek (contrary unto that
which he calls Christ's golden Rule, of doing to others as they would
by others be done unto) to call upon to become Christians by compul-
sion, and to sure such as are made Offenders (only for not being so by
calling them off from their common Priviledges as women, and to confess
the publick Power by that common success of converse of publick Persuasion.

Bills. There are but these four ways of treating any party, that dis-
sent from the publick Establishment of Religion and its Laws, in our
Church and Kingdom. First, either we persecute, imprison, banish
and Destroy all Dissenters, as the King of Castile did the Moores of
Granada, which is a very rough, barbarous, cruel and unchristian
way, disapproved by all wise Men of all persuasions.

That there hath been another way of treating us, as Dissenters,
but this is the first way of the four, which is as yet also likely to continue,
is evident enough by the 22^d commencement against the Quakers,
on the 24th of March (so called) long before the Bishops Book,
which he may possibly call a new way of treating, came forth
in publick, which Book had it been the first, yet therefore was not
the first, fifth it comes (and so to this purpose) so long a time after
the other. Which way of proceeding, by Imprisonment, Imprisonment,

which,

Banishment, which is the very way of the Bill, to the passing of which he hath consented, 'tis so much the more shame to him that he did consent, seeing he here also passes so severe a Sentence on it, as to compare it, to the King of Castile destroying the Moors of Granada, which himself condemneth, as a very rough, Barbarous, unchristian and Unchristian way, disapproved by all wise men of all persuasions. And we also appeal to himself and all wise men of all persuasions, whether, as he consented to that very thing he here so much condemneth, so he hath not greatly Condemned himself, as one Acting, and sinning against his own Conscience, and so against God (the very Enemy to which he commendeth the Quakers for) in his so consenting, and whether he doth not in his Sentencing the Quakers to destruction, by Fines, Prisons, Banishments, Sentence himself also to be both Cruel, Rough, Barbarous, Unwelcome, and Unchristian, and unlike to all wise men of all persuasions, and also contrary to that Charitable Method and Temper (as he calls it) of those Ancient Fathers of the Church, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Austin, Prosper, Cyrill, Hilary, Optatus, Jerom, and others, guided by the Word and Spirit of God, who (as he saith) never used any other means but the Sword of the Spirit, the Word of Truth, in Meekness of Wisdom, and did not call the severity of the Secular Sword to their assistance (as many now do) before, or until they found that depraved Opinions, put men upon desperate Actions, which as yet neither hath, nor can be justly charged upon the Quakers; so that here is a Cloud of Witnesses, all added by himself, against his own and his Brethrens present Practice, who before they have used all those rational and Religious means, which were then used in Meekness of Wisdom to convince them of any Error or mistake, have given their consent by Bill to the ruining of the Quakers, and also, before the passing of the said Bill, have permitted their Apparitors and other Officers, who have hunted Poor Innocents from place to place, as it were on purpose to weary them out like Torturers, by summoning them to Courts far remote from each other, and that onely for either not coming to the Publick Place of Worship, or for not paying of Mortuaries, Smock-Pennies, Peter-pence, Easter Rickings, with other such like spiritual Impositions, which seeing we find them not mentioned at all in the Scriptures, nor practiced among Primitive Christians, whether they are not merely mens Traditions and Inventions, yea and Relicks of the Church of Rome, we desire to be informed by the Bishop, in all plainness, if he judges they are not

Bish.

Bish. Or secondly, by *rational* convincing them of their *Errors* which is a work of time and dexterity, not to be done on the sudden, though very worthy to bear a part in the Discipline of the Church, which should require of every one a Reason why they differ from; and forsooth to establish Religion.

Ans. We appeal to the Bishop himself, where ever there hath been as yet any such *rational* proceedings of the Bishop with us, in order to the convincing us of Error, with such time and dexterity as he speaks of? Yea, rather have they not run upon us on the sudden without using any of their own prescribed remedies, without exercising that, which he calls a part of the Discipline of the Church, without requiring (as they say they ought to do) of every one a reason why we differ from them in Religion? Although we have been always ready to render, not only to them, but to every one that asketh us, a reason of our Faith and Practice, but that the Deficiency hath been ever on their part; witness the Bishops own words, Pag. 7. where he saith, of himself at least, who hath had as much to do with the Quakers as any one of them all hath had, *I never conversed with any of their Persons*; and pag. 4. *With the Quakers I have so little Correspondency, that I have not any acquaintance, not knowing any of that way by face or name, or so much as one hours conversation.* But the Bishop who hath a Plaster ready at hand to apply to every wound, that he gives himself unawares, by his unwarlike conflicts with the Quakers, hath one Pittiful Put-off for this oversight also; for saith he (in the same place) of the Quakers.

Bish. They are a Generation of People so Supercilious, or so shy, that they are scarce Sociable or accessible, speaking much in their Conventions behind mens backs, but seldom arguing any thing in presence, of those that are best able to answer or satisfy them.

Ans. To which we reply, that it is very well known that they are a People not so Supercilious, or so shy as he would make them, for Shyness, Superciliousness, Unsociableness, Unaccessibleness, is the usual Department of the Bishops themselves towards the Quakers, whom, while they seem to themselves to be some sons of Anak, they look upon as Grasshoppers with disdain, whose Greyness will scarce stoop to entertain any conference with the Poor silly Quakers (as he terms them) in order to their Conviction of the Errors they deem them to be in, although the Holy Men and Ancient Fathers of the Church above named (as this Bishop himself testifies of them) and

not at any time so despise the meanness of any Christians outward Condition, or the Futility of their Opinions; as not to set a great value on their Souls for whom Christ dyed: Neither do the Quakers seek Corners, to speak in behind mens backs (as he falsely charges them with the doing of in their Conventicles, which are places open to all comers) but appear as publickly as possibly they can in their Testimony to the Truth; of which they are not ashamed, neither do they refuse to argue any thing, but rather offer often to argue every thing; in presence of those, even the Bishops themselves, who judge themselves best able to answer, or satisfie them, &c who are indeed so wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight; as to take upon them to impose things, to be believed and done, on seventy-times seven men, that are able (were the Bishops as willing to condescend by word of mouth to render their reasons for them) to render a sufficient reason to the contrary.

By the Bishops own prescription then of this second Remedy, as well as of the first; Sith in this second, which he commends, he is found defective, while he Condemns the first, which alone he is found active in, he stands altogether Condemned by himself, not onely in what he Condemns; but in what he allows.

Bish. Or thirdly, by changing the Established Lawes for their sakes, which is not for the Piety, Prudence, Honour and safety of a Nation, and Church, when it judgeth its Constitutions to be Religious, Righteous, and convenient.

Ans. This were an effectuall way to end and mend all indeed, to change the Lawes Established; which are for the Establishing of Persecution, for the sake of the Persecuted sufferers, that dissent out of Tenderness of Conscience, and to Establish in their stead such as allow Liberty to all Religions (while they keep Righteousness and Peace amongst each other in outward matters) whether Ethnicks; Turks, Jews, Papists or Protestants of what Form or Profession soever. The Civil Power interposing between them all, to no other end, then the bare preserving of the Civil Peace, and of equity, innocency, honesty and truth in their dealings each with other in meer externall affaires: Yea doubtless no Nation will ever stand firm in the time that is now to come, till their Foundation be that Love, that allows to all men the same Liberty of their Consciences, which each man desires to enjoy himself; till all People be permitted to walk in the Name of his God, and the Lords own People, to walk in the Name of the Lord their God, without any molestation or prohibition, for Conscience being that truly tender part, in which those onely ex-
cepted

cepted by the Bishop himself; which being wholly resolved into suffering Principles cannot make resistance) all others (though never so Conformable through fear for a time) being trod upon will rise again, and when they can relieve themselves from the heavy hands of their Oppressors: And besides all those pernicious and ill consequences of War, which ariseth mostly about Religion, 'tis the express command of Christ, (which what Nation soever violates will first or last dearly rue their violation of it) Mat. 13. that the Tares, viz. false worshippers should stand and be let alone, though not in the Garden, or even Church, yet at least in the Field, which is the World, and the Civil States, and several Nations thereof, which (howbeit the Bishop takes Nations for Churches by whole sale here, as if the words Church, and Nation were Synonims, yet (qua Nations) are not Churches) to grow together with the Wheat until the harvest, or end of the World; and that with this Caveat, least men, in the midst of their Bustlings and busy minds mistaking, should under a pretence of plucking up the Tares, root out the Wheat it self also, which what Kingdom or People soever doth (Bishop Gaudens Counsel and Caveat to the contrary notwithstanding, who sayes he is not for such a loose permission of Tares to be among the Wheat, least that good seed of Religion, which is sown by the Publick Ministry (by which he means no other then their own) and fenced by Legal Authority should be choked) had better busie it self wholly about other and more secular matters of wrong and wicked Levindness, which reason wills they should be Totally taken up with in the exercise of their Civil Power, these being the things, which not onely properly, but indeed alone appertain to them to be exercised in, or take Cognizance of: For if the Wheat, which are indeed those true worshippers only, who worship the Father of Spirits (who is a Spirit and seeketh such onely to worship him) in Spirit and in Truth, in reference unto whom all other outside worshippers are as nothing (for what is the Chaff to the wheat, saith the Lord) and which onely must go into the garner, when all chaffy Formalists must (in this day wherein the Lord is sifting out the husk of Unraif from among the Nations, or several Sorts of Professions, as Corn is sifted in a Sieve) fall to the ground, be driven away with the Wind, and burnt up with the unquenchable Fire, of that great day of the Lord, which now burns as a Oven against all Flesh and fleshy Christianities; if (we say) the foresaid true worshippers be of God, then they cannot be withstood in a way of Safety to it self by any Nation; So

in *withstand* them; it is not *only* to *oppose* that *People* which are the *Christians* and *Muslims* thereof, but also to be found *fighting* against *God* himself, *against* whom and *his People*, it is as *impossible* for him to prevail, as it was for *Egypt* to prevail against *Israel*, which when *God* wole to Redeem them from their bondage, *increased* upon them so much the more, by how much the more they were *crucified* and intended to be for ever *suppressed*; by *God* himself taking part with his own chosen, *suppressed* *power* against the other, who hath said he will *give* *Kingdoms* for their ransom, and *Nations* for their *Lives*, rather than his own *Soul* shall go unredeemed.

We say that this were the way to *settle all in Peace*, to change all *several* *Lawes* that are for *Persecution*, into a *Law* for the *Tolerance* of all *Religions*, much more of that *one*, which though it be struck at both *by* and *before* all the rest, will be found at last to be the *only* *one*, which yet *must* unavoidably *suffer* *Violence* in some place or other, while that *Principle* of *Persecution* hath place in *Peoples* hearts, for as all *Nations* are not of *our* and the *same*, but of *many* (respectively) to all men are not of *our* and the *same Religion*, in any *one Nation*; whereupon in case it happen that any *Nation* by *Law* *Establish* that *Religion*, which is not *their* own *Nation* suppressing by outward *Violence* all *Religions* besides its own (whether that be *Heathenish*, *Turkish*, *Jewish*, *Papish*, *Protestant*, *Presbyterian*, or any other) must necessarily (ex officio) in point of duty *Persecute* and *root down* the *Truth* it self; for if the *Civil Magistrate* (as such) ought *de jure* to root out all *Religions*, but that which it judges to be *Christian*, and *convenient*, then even those that are *Heathen Magistrates*, who would be no more, as to the *capacity* of *Magistrates*, then now they are, if they should *ruin* *Christians*, must root out (quoad posse) all that's *Christian*, and every *Magistrate* being a *Magistrate* as well as any one (the notion of *Christian* adding nothing to mens *Power* as *Civil* *Governors*) according to that rule of *quarrens* *system*, which includes *de omni* what ever belongs to anything (as so) belongs also to everything that is so, not only those *Nations*, which happen to be of the *true Religion* must *Persecute* all those that are found in *false ones*, but each *Nation* that is found in *any false Religion*, must seek the *ruin* *not only* of all the rest, but even of those also which are *Established* in the *Truth*. But this is the way which the *Bishop* in no wise approves of, for any *Nation* (or what for this) to renounce the *unsound Principle* of forcing (under *Penalties*)

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Dissenters) all Dissenters is conformity in Religion unto it self, but
cause (sayd he) is not consistent with the *Piety, Prudence, Honour*
or *Safety* of a *Nation* and *Church*, when it judgeth its *Constitutions*
to be *Religious, Righteous* and *Convenient*: But what a contrary con-
clusion is this, not only to all *Scripture Reason* (as is shewed above)
but also to all *common Experience* in this *own Nation* & in which
has been seen in the dayes both of *Edward the sixth*, *Elizabeth*, and
James his times (neither can it be denyed by the *Bishops* them-
selves, unless they will deny themselves to be conscientious Dis-
senters from that *Papery* which stood here of old) how much it was for
the *piety, prudence, honour* and *Safety* of the *Nation*, which did before
generally judge those *Papish* *constitutions* it was then establish'd in to be
Religious, Righteous and *Convenient*; and yet upon further and more
mature deliberation; saw good ground, for the sake of that small
(yet more enlightened) *Protestant Party* that dissented, to change
the then and long before establish'd *Laws* concerning their *Mass*, and
many other matters, as the *Statutes* themselves declare at large
(The *Bishop* therefore by this *reasonless Reason*, both condemns that
course of all the *Protestant Princes* of *England* that changed the
Papish *Laws* before establish'd, for the sake of tender, *Protestant* *Dis-*
senters, as not favouring of *piety, prudence*, nor yet either *fit*, *in-*
numerate, or *convenient* for the *Nation*; but also secondly, justifies the
Pope himself, and all *Papish* *Princes* in *Persecuting* such *Protestants*
against him, as are found within these *Precincts* and *Dominions*; and
in not changing their establish'd *Laws* against the *Truth* for their sakes;
fith (as the *Bishops* judge the *English Constitutions* so to be, whereby
they stand &c.) So other *Nations* judge their own *Constitutions* to be
Religious, Righteous and *Convenient*; and thirdly, makes a fence against
the spreading of all sorts of *Protestantism*, not that only which is
so at large, but of that which is *Christianity*; so truly called.

Moreover, where ever the alteration of any suppressive *Laws* for
the sake of a few *Dissenters*, tends to the increase of *Love* and *Ami-*
ty, Peace and *Unity*; which is a better thing than *Uniformity* in a
Nation, the preservation of which is the main end of all civil *Go-*
vernment, it cannot truly be supposed to be prejudicial to either the
Piety, Honour and *Safety* of that *Nation*; to alter its establish'd
Laws for the sake of those few, which (for *Conscience* merely) can-
not confirm in more outward matters: And so the case in here, for
as that *People* that are most truly tender of keeping the *truth* and

point (which are the very things that though they less deserve it, yet
 must not always, and for the most part only under those Laws that
 we made to force the Conscience in case of Religion) cannot be for-
 ced to do against their Faith, and so with more Liberty, Peace, Sa-
 fety, and Honour, every way may be let alone to
 live a quiet Life under all civil Governments, in all Godliness and
 Honesty, the disturbing them under the pretence of their being
 Disturbers, being the true Cause of most Difference in most Na-
 tions. So the generality of the rulers sort that make no such Conser-
 vance about Religion, as the *unrighteous* do, can without scruple
 change their Worship, if men will have them, and (as people did
 by the *Idol* worship that *Lucius*, which was set up on pain of *death*, if
 they bared not to it, excepting those that did dissent, for whose
 sake they found good cause soon after to change the *Edict*) can con-
 form quietly to and fro without scruple or *constraint* (as they did in
 Edward's, Mary's, and Elizabeth's Days) to what Forms of Wor-
 ship shall be required of them: and to a Toleration by Law to the
 rest at least that cannot, cannot be so far from a Nations Piety, Pro-
 vidence, Honour and Safety as this *By* Imagines; and cannot but be
 most tending to its Security: for those Nations which weave the
 Spiders Web, which catches and hampers the small harmless *gnats*
 and *Flies*, while Hornets and venomous Creatures that have strong
 stings and great strength, that know how to fast in morrow every form,
 and snare their peace to every Profession, crawl over them without be-
 ing caught or tangled, do draw down upon themselves that vengeance
 from the Lord, which he will as assuredly recompence on them in
 due time, as ever he foretold it by his Prophet, who said, *Isa. 59.*
4, 5, 6, 7, 8. None calleth for Justice, nor any pleadeth for truth, they
 trust in Vanity and speak Lies, they conceive Mischief and bring forth
 Iniquity: they hatch Cockatrice Eggs, and weave the Spiders Web:
 Brethren eateth of their Eggs with, and that which is crushed breaketh
 out into a Kiper. Their Webs shall not become Garments, neither shall
 they cover themselves with their Workes. Their Works are Works of
 Iniquity, and the Act of Violence is in their hands. Their Feet run
 to evil, and they make hast to shed Innocent Blood: their thoughts are
 the thoughts of iniquity, walking and distraction are in their paths. The
 way of peace they know not, and there is no judgement in their going:
 they have made them crooked paths: whosoever goeth therein shall not
 know peace.

Lastly, Though indeed it is not consistent, with the *Pity, Prudence, Humour and Safety* of the *True Church*, to alter its *Laws and Constitutions*, for the sake of such a *few* as are *Quakers*; because *Christ himself* is their *Lawgiver*, who has not put us into her power to make her *Laws*, much less to *change* her *Laws*; under *human* pretence with *human* weapons on the consciences of *other* people; and by his *Law* allows a latitude, as to *human* observations, in which his *Kingdom* stands not to do as every one is by him persuaded and ruled; as in his own mind, to be that he, who *is* *Lord*, or *disorders* his duty, in outward things; *and*, and *has* *not* *unto* the *End*; neither need the *True Church* change her *Orders* for the sake of such a *disturbance* from it, and the *not* of it (as the *Quakers* are not) either of the *Bishops* or the *Pope*; each of which if they *please themselves*, shall not *lose* *power* in their *Acts and Orders* for *superfluous Ceremonies* (as be they let us alone, with whom (as being not of their Church) they have *nothing* to do (as just) as with *Members* of it, yet to *be* is it from being against the *Pity, Prudence, Humour and Safety* of the *Masses* of *earthly Kingdoms*, to repeal such *Laws* as they have made by their *Princes Direction*, to bind men to conform to Religions *contrary* to their Conscience; that if any happen to *err* in that sort of *Pricks*, which do direct them (and the *Bishop* without the *Lytle*) which we call *all men* to, and which he opposes, is no more *infallible*, but is *fallible* to the *fall* as the *Pope* and *Presbytery* (yet none of the *three* do so much as pretend to *infallibility*, save the *Pope*) then it's neither *Godly, Prudent, Honourable*, nor so much as *safe* for any *Nation* not to *change* its *established* *Laws* for the sake of *Dissenters* from its *Error*, *rich* in *not* *changing* them; *God himself* is *rebelled* against in *such* a *case*; whether those *Laws* be made for *Swearing* or against *true Worship*, which are the *two things* only aimed at in the *Act* against the *Quakers*; about one of which there's the *self same reason*, as about the *other*; and in proof of this we have the *sanctifying* of the *Bishops* own *true Testimony* to the *one*, which is *true*, When given forth in a way of *evidence* to the *other*, whose Words concerning *Swearing*, which (with the *Bishops* *consent* to it) *Man's Law* now commands, pag. 23. are as followes,

If it be *appear* that all *Swearing* is *disputed* by our *Lord Christ* *add* to his *Disciples*, *God forbid* we should *not* obey his word, and *rather* change the *lawes* of *man* than *dispute* his *Commands*, to whom we *Christians* owe the highest love, loyalty, and obedience, but if it *appear*

But we, it doth not by anything said in the Bishops Book, or any where else, to religious reason, that the words of Christ do not import an absolute forbidding of all Swearing, we must not be so much slaves to the Letter, as to leave Truth and Reason aspride, or to deprive our selves of this religious Liberty which is due to us, and so not only lawful for Christians to use, but in some cases (prudentially) necessary, as to the necessities of mens Personages, Lives, Liberties, Estates and good Names, even in private, much more in the dispensations of Justice, to the publick Peace and general Satisfaction of whole Polities and Communities, wherein men live sociably under Law and Government.

To which Words of the Bishops concerning Swearing (*munus morandis*) we subjoyn concerning our meeting together to worship God in Spirit and in Truth, which (with the Bishops consent therunto) *mans Law now forbids* (*viz.*) If it do appear that all meetings together in Christ's name, of above five of his Disciples at one time, to worship him in Spirit and in Truth in any one place (except in some such Churches or Chappels, as are of mans, and for the most part of the Popes Consecrating of old for his Service (though since decreed to a somewhat more refined Service) is absolutely by our Lord Christ forbidden to his Disciples; God forbid we Quakers should deny his Word, and submit to every Ordinance of man for his sake, whether it be the King, as Supream, or those that are sent by him, and ought to be a praise to him that do well, and for the punishment only of Evil Doers, against whom only God's Law is, rather then violate not only the Kings Command, but Christs also, to whom we Christians owe the highest Love, Loyalty and Obedience. But if it should appear (as it may in any one that is of the true Religion I am speak of, that is undispleased before God, and to keep unsported of the Lusts and Sinfullions of the World to religious reason, that the words of Christ neither in the Conscience, nor in the Scriptures express an importan such absolute forbidding of all meetings to worship him, any where or in any wise, saving in the times, places and forms aforesaid, but by the scope of them and the Analogy of Scripture, they have no such limited meaning (as the Bishop had when he consented to the Act for the suppressing of the Quakers Meetings to worship God, and when he wrote those Words in his Epistle (*viz.*) for Dissenters, *i.e.* from the Bishops (meaning Quakers as well as others) to have multitudinous Conventions when, where, and as many as they please, cannot be safe) then we must not be so much slaves to mens Wills, which are below the Letter of the Scrip-

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ture, which is a Declaration of the Will of God, as to lead Truth and Reason captive, or to deprive our selves of that Religious Liberty, which is left us by Christ, and so is not only lawful for Christians to use, but in some cases (as namely that of conscience obliging hereunto) necessary, though else it may be prudential to forbear our meetings, as to the expediences of our Lives, Liberties, Estates and good Names among evil men, not only in private, but much more in our publick Disputations of the Word of Truth, which is of most moment and concernment to the publick Peace, and to the general satisfaction about the truth of the whole Polity and Community, wherein we live socially enough under the civil Laws and Governments of men, so far as we can be both under them and under Christ.

But alas, why talk we of changing of the Law for our sakes, eleven points of the twelve of which is possession? which when once the Clergy of any of the three sorts at any time have eminently obtained, they tell us it's then too late for us to expect dispute, or any other change of establish'd Law for our sakes, then that which the Bishop hath of late been necessary to by his own Suffrage, which is repeal of any old Laws for the punishment of Dissenters (which were establish'd so long ago, that they were well nigh worn out and forgotten and ready to die out of date of themselves) but a reviving of them into their former force, and an addition of new ones to the same end and purpose; so that if our Cause be better than the Clergies, yet their claws are longer than ours, and that's cause enough whereupon for Lambs to be devoured: And now that the Sentence pass'd against us as erroneous, and seditious, should be repealed, upon the account of whatever strength of reason is by us rendered at so great a disadvantage, as we (who stand already both imprisoned and condemned) do appear in against such an eminent Accuser of us as a Bishop, who is so highly esteemed as John Gauden, who sayes, he is thought to be no barren nor diffident Speaker, pag. 3. when he speaks for us, and is also as fluent, as fervent, and blindly confident when he talks against us, how little is it to be expected? (unless the Lord set home some of the Quakers honest plainness to the Conscience of the present Powers, in whose hands the hearts of Kings are, so that he can turn them as the Rivers of Waters) sub Damna lingua vocem habes, vim non habes. Besides it is the manner of all these parties in these latter dayes, whose professed principle it is by Penalties to prosecute all Dissenters from what Religion shall be established in this

this Nation, and who are not wholly resolved (as the Quakers are) in suffering Principles; however they cry out of the *merciless*, and *oppressiveness* of those times wherein they are *underlings*, *respectively* and *mutually* to each other, and plead with all earnestness, and evident demonstration the *Liberty* of their own *Consciences*; to tread down the *Liberty* of others, yet not without some *subtile* pretences, some nice distinction between *Persecution* and *Preservation* of publick Peace, or some kind of odd *Secundum quid* or other: And how exquisitely soever they exclaim of others *Sharpness* and *Cruelty*, while they feel the blows, yet to lay on themselves with less compassion than those they complain on, when the backs of others are to beag them, *Wise* men, not only the *grievous* groans that were uttered for *Liberty* of *Conscience*, out of *Quintilianus* his own mouth, while he was under the *wharbes*, who yet *Larded* it over all others, as well as over *God's* *Heritage*, when he obtained to sit at the *stern* and *handle* the *helm* himself. But also the *Cries* of the *Prelatich* Party, both against *Quintilianus*, and against the *Pope*, according as they have at any time (*respectively*) suffered under either, who yet give no small *Symptoms* by this *Bishops* Book (as smooth as 'tis) that now soft and *filently* soever they went in the late *den.* pag. 6. *days* of their *Humiliation* (which were not amiss for them yet to beware they do not forget) as *Cass* and *Lions* do on their *Panics*, yet they have *sharp* fangs, and reserved *salon*; as the others have, who never do shew till they find a fit prey and Opportunity, where- in to shew their *truel* claws.

Obj. And if any say, were you Quakers once in Power, you would also be the same.

Ans. We reply on the behalf of our own *Consciences*, and the *consentient* sence of all the *truly* *Christian* (and not *unchristian*, nor *Anachristian*) *Church*, from *Christ's* time to this very day, even that *general* *Assembly* and *Church* of the *first-born* which is in *God*, whose *names* are written in *Heaven*; in which we are come, as they were, *Heb.* 6. That after the *genius* of the *Primitive* *Christians*, which was (as all that will live *Godly* in *Christ* *Jesus* must do) to suffer *Persecution*, and not to *persecute*; and after that *divine* *Nature*, of which we are made *partakers*, and that *nature's* *temper* we are begotten into by the *Word* of *Christ*, whose *mind* we have as they had of old, *1. Cor.* 2. *Phil.* 2. We *abhor* (without such *reserves* and *exceptions* as

Quid rides? mutato
nomine de te Fabu-
la narratur.

Bishop

Bishop Sandhaman, when he sayes so of himself (*All such Sermons and Discourses are intended for by the same Bishop, that plainly appear to, upon the face of Religion only, and as King James said in one of his Speeches to his Parliament: It is a pure rule in divinity, that God never loves to plant his Church with Violence and Blood, and this is was usually the condition of Christians to be Persecuted, and not to Persecute; And King Charles the first in his Eikon Basilike, pag. 67. in his complaint to God, Thou hast done much cruelly against Christians in these times under the colour of Religion, as if we could not be Christians unless we crucify one another: and pag. 28. Make them so long seriously to consider, that nothing violent or injurious can be religious. So is it (God knows what ever mistrustful minds may think, who measure others corn by their own Bushel) a pure Rule, Principle and Resolution in our Church (as knowing nothing else but patience towards all, even ill men, will prosper finally and overcome, and that we are not to be overcome of Evil, but to overcome Evil with Good) to make no violent resistance (if we could) against them under whom we suffer singly for our Consciences; much less to exercise Violence, in order to the forcing of any against their Consciences to be of us: Nor do we build up the City Zion by Blood, nor Jerusalem by any Iniquity and Deceit; and who ever are otherwise minded (how Apostolick so ever they may pretend to be) have relinquish'd, apostasized, and degenerated from, not that which is true alone, but from that pure Principle of the primitive Pastors (who had no dominion over the Faith of any that were within, much less any that were without the pale of their Church, whom they left to God to Judge) which said Principle can possibly stand no more with Persecution, than God himself can stand in Union with the Devil.*

Bith. Or fourthly. By way of discreet civility, and charitable indulgence, so far as the civil peace of the Nation will bear, will reason and religion (of whose prevalency wise and good men are full) have by calm and charitable methods recovered People from the error of their waies by the Sacred doctrine, and good examples of those who conform to the established Laws in Church and State.

Ans. It is remarkable, that all of those four waies of treating any party that dissent from themselves, which this Bishop hath prescribed, shew whereof are discreet, good and justifiable, and one of them justified by himself, and but one very bad and condemned by him, as barbarous, and unchristian, he himself is found (which

his assent to the *Aff.* following and assenting to no other then the
very oath, (viz.) to *Impoverish, Imprison, Banish, and so destroy*
defenders, a course disallowed (as he confesses) by all wise men of
all persuasions: for I appeal to all wise men to judge, whether so
much *discreet civility* and *charitable indulgence*, hath been used
as yet to the *Quakers*, untill reason and religion (of whose prevalent
in wise and good men (we confess) never despair (though evil men
despair of overcoming by their evil manners, and so betake them-
selves to sharper courses,) have by calm and charitable methods, re-
covered the People from that, which he calls the error of their way,
by any either *Sacred doctrines* or *good examples* of such as conform
so freely to that religion that is now established? What such sound do-
ctrine have we seen delivered by any of the *Bishops*, or by this *Bi-*
shop either, in these his pretended undertakings thereof, sufficient
to convince any rational man of the *Legality* of that sort of swear-
ing, he so pleads for? 2. What *good examples* have we from the
learned conversations of the *Conformists*, to gain us to the belief
of it, that their most solemn swearing is the will of God; concern-
ing whom (though they speak much against the *Quakers*) the *Bi-*
shop himself by way of discommendation saith, pag. 17. that the
Quakers shall rise in judgement at the last day, against many of those
their accusers, for this very thing, in that whilst others are common
swearers against Gods own Command, and so such as are disposed to
false swearing, and gross perjury, sins of the first magnitude; yea such
as to whom when they swear never so solemnly in Judicature, no
more credit is to be given than to Liars, the *Quakers* (for which
many men can blame them as he saith) have a just abhorrency of the
sin of prophane, easie, trivial, familiar, false and inconsiderate
swearing, for which the Land mourneth; and whilst the others
have reverence of the Majesty of God, nor the Sacredness of an
Oath, the *Quakers* have so great a fear of an Oath, that out of a
jealousy of swearing amiss, they will not swear at all? Do we not see
many abounding beyond all bounds of modesty, and common sen-
sibility? People wallowing in the mire of Lust, Voluptuousness, Un-
chastity, Drunkenness, Excess of Riot, Pride, Prophane and
Profane Swearing, in new coin'd, new invented, and before un-
heard of Oaths, in a way of Bravado, as if they would dare God
to damn them, and engage him to do it before their time; Lying,
Cursing, Cheating, Defrauding, countenancing all manner of

Lechewesse and Debauchery among that People who are found the most forward and Zealous Conformitants to what ever *Image* the Bishops shall set up in the Church? 2. Will the *fil* and *beastly* manners of brutish minded men, ever win the Quakers, from that good conversation which they have in Christ Jesus, which is the end of all that Religion that lies in *outwards*; yea, as Christ sayes the very Law and the Prophets, will it ever gain them back to the old forms, upon which God hath stretched forth the line of confusion, and the stones of empiriess; to live there with the old *Form* Formalists, their old, wretched and unprofitable lives over gain? Doth not that sound doctrine, and good example the Bishop speaks of remain yet invisible to the eyes of any, save such as call evil good, and good evil; put darknesse for light, and light for darknesse? hath it ever yet been seen among the generality of Parish People, whereby to render dissenters from them inexcusable, and justifie that freedom, which is now by Law to be inflicted on the Opponents and Adversaries of those which are true, just, honest, and in no wise so extravagant to the prejudice of the Kingdom, as the Bishop makes them? But the Bishop who is so wise, as to insert in the midst of them, some odd clause or other, whereby to make himself a whole out of the censure of that absurdity, which otherwise would fall upon his sayings, hath one here also, whereby to escape.

Obj. For (saith he) discreet connivance, and charitable indulgence to be used, so far onely, as the Civil peace of the Nation will bear, but the permission of the Quakers Opinions and Actions (unlesse they be reduced to obedience) do many wayes pervert the publick peace, affront the established Religion, threaten to subvert our Laws by their disobedience thereunto, and to obstruct all Judicial proceedings.

Ans. The Civil Peace hath been ever, and is at this day thousand fold more disturbed, and that true Religion, that was first since established by Christ himself and his Apostles, upon the Foundation, which the Quakers stand on at this day, more manifestly affronted, and Equity itself which is the End of all Law subverted; and so truly, all right Judicial proceedings obstructed, and even many Laws, as well as Gods, more apparently disobeyed; by hunting them up and down, and pulling them out of their own private houses, as well as out of their meeting-places, without Warrants into Prisons (as the experience of

those

those *Hurl-burles*, that are seen in this City at this day, do evidently declare) then ever they would have been or could possibly be if the Quakers were let alone to declare the Truth, and to worship God in Spirit and Truth, and to live a peaceable and quiet life (as they would do) under the King in all godliness and honesty. Neither is it possible that the Quakers should be otherwise Opinioned or acted then they are, or the Nation in Peace settled, or your own (if it were as truly as ye suppose it to be, right) Religion Established, till these ripe afflictions have an end; And to this the Bishop himself witnesseth in the very next words; which are thus, (viz.) in this particular Case of the Quakers who refuse all Legall Oathes upon scruples of Conscience, no sober man can think by meer Penalties to reduce them to the Conformity with our Laws, or to stop the spreading of their Opinions, until it be plainly shewed (and that, say we still, never will, be unless more be done, then ever yet hath been done by the Bishops Book in order to it) that it is not true Religion, but onely Superstition in them, a fear where no fear is, a being Righteous over much, a mistake of Christs meaning, a wresting of Scripture by their own unlearnedness and unskillfulness to their own Destruction, as well as to the Publick parturition; a Year-sad experience (saith another Author) hath clearly and plainly shewn us, that forcing of Conscience, and persecuting about Religion, are not onely in vain; but a direct contrary means, and a cause of Seditions, and disturbances, and of many evils; as the Chronicles of Germany, France, and the Low Countrys do abundantly testify; The States of Holland also affirmed that it was not possible to find out means of any good and certain Peace, otherwise then by Tollerating more Religions then one; Some say indeed that People of different Opinions cannot live together in a Kingdom without continuall contention, and therefore say, they, must that be prevented with Fire and Sword: But what though there be Virtue and sickness in a Kingdom, good and bad men, which are one contrary to the other? one must not therefore (saith a wise man) to prevent it, bring a whole Kingdom or Land into confusion by stirring up the People one against another; More over it is evident, that in Dutchland, Poland, and in the Low Countries more Religions then one are suffered, and yet there are not continual uprisings, and Tumults, as some imagine such Toleration would occasion in a Kingdom. Therefore may we conclude; that it is not the Toleration of more Religions then one, which produceth uprisings in a Kingdom.

Kingdom, but rather the unweariness, and perseverance of them that seek to abstruse this Tolleration.

Moreover it was the saying of Calvin in his First: *If any man prove or rebuke mans evils, and teach anything contrary to what they teach, then they account that to be the cause of uprises, when they themselves are the tumultuous, and if they themselves did not stir up the mighty to shed blood, there would never arise so many uprises among the People.* And it was Luthers mind also (however both the Lutheraus and Calvinists so called, growing numerous and Potent, have since Degenerated from the first professed Principles of those, after whom they are respectively denominated) that those, who stirred up the Princes to persecute about Religion, they still raised the uprises. Neither is it such a means, as Bishop Gardin accounts it, to preserve the Religion Established from affronts by the Quakers, for as for them they do not so affront it, or endeavour to unsettle it, but that it may stand long enough for them, among such as can own it to be true, if it can stand on its own legs, without the Interposition of any Extrinsical or Foraneous force to uphold it; but if like Dagon it fall of it self before the Ark of Gods Testament, what reason is there to the contrary, but that it should lie there, as not the true one (as Dagon did as no true God) unless it can help it self up again by its own Intrinsic Power, without the outward Heterogeneous assistance or help of men, making Lawes and Penalties to impose it.

Furthermore, how inefficual utterly and of dangerous Consequence to any Nation, the Practice of Violence and Persecution is, is to be seen not only by the Testimony of well nigh innumerable famous men of all Sorts and Capacities in their Several Generations (whose unanimous perswasion in this particular is to be understood, by their re-

* Collected by
William Ca-
ton, which is,
or is, to be
Printed.

spective sayings, comprized together in our Book entitled, *The Testimony of a Cloud of Witnesses*, &c.) but also by sundry more of the Prudent sayings of King Charles the first, besides those forecited out of his Book called *EIKON BASILIKES*, namely pag. 20. *Not is it so proper, to hew out Religion by the Sword, as to polish them by free and equal disputations among those that are most concerned, in such differences, whom not force but reason ought to convince: for in matters of Religion, those severities gain most upon their Judgements, which are urged by secular Violence, which weakens Truth with prejudices,* p. 127.

do being an office not onely of Humanity, rather to use reason then force, but also of Christianity to seek Peace and ensue it, pag. 92. In point of true Conscientiousness and Tenderness, I have often declared, how little I desire my Lawes and Scepter should intrench on Gods Sovereignty, which is the onely King of mens Consciences. And pag. 123. Nor do I desire any man should be further subjeckt unto me, then all of us may be subjeckt unto God. Pag. 76. The enjoining Oathes upon People must needs in things doubtful be dangerous, as in things unlawful damnable. And in pag. 109. In his advice to his Son Charles the second, now Raigning; My Counsell and charge to you is, that you seriously consider the vast and objected miscarriages, which might occasion my trouble, that you might avoid them, beware of exasperating any Faction by the rashness and asperity of some mens passions, humors and private opinions, imployed by them, grounded onely upon Religion, where a Charitable Concomitance and Christian Toleration often dissipates their strength, where vulgar opposition fortifies, and puts the despised and oppressed party into such a combination, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their Persecutors. And p. 164. Your Prerogative is best served and exercised in remitting, rather then exalting the rigor of the Lawes, there being nothing worse then Legal Tyranny.

But we need not go so far abroad, to fetch in Testimonies of others to the trash of this, seeing we have the Bishops own Testimony herein siding with us neerer home; whose words in that 7. & 8. pages of his Epistle are these, In point of State Policy or Methods of true Government, I do conceive that meer Plagiary Counsels and Punitive courses, are never likely to obtain the main end, which is to stop the corruption of Errors, and to extirpate those depraved opinions which are justly thought to be the spawn of dangerous Actions; for unless the generality of credulous people, who are Spectators of those that differ, and suffer for their Opinions and Consciences, do also see so much Light of Reason and clear Religion, as may justify the severity of the Lawes Executed upon those offenders, who profess Consciences for their disobedience, and Sentence for their Consciences, it is most certain, that the Spectators of their sufferings will very much soften to a compassion for them, and by Sympathizing with their persons in affliction, they will by degrees Sympathize with their Opinions, easily running as weevil that is murthered into the same mould, to lengthen the Popularity, if not fortified by Pregnant Demonstrations of Truth against those speaking Errors, and their Pseudo-Martyrs, will miserably cry up their Piety, admire their courage, and magnify

magnifie their constancy: At last they will conclude, those sufferers to have some special support or Divine Spirit above ordinary men, because they seem to be so much above the ordinary passions of fear and hope, self-love and preservation, which prospect of Patience Justine Martyr tells us, was the first occasion of his examining the Doctrine of Christians, that he might see on what ground so fixed a constancy grew, which shewed a Divine security midst humane infirmity: By such popular pity and applause not onely sufferers will be confirmed in their pertinacy, but their Spectators also will daily increase and multiply, as the Shoots of Trees do by the lapping of their Branches, especially if the lives and actions of such dissenters and sufferers be morally just, and civilly honest. And pag. 9. where harmlessness of life sets a gloss on Opinions, and Errors thereby grow more lusty and rank, there meer robust Power, or punitive severity, can no more pull them up, than a strong arm doth Thorns and Bushes, when they are deeply rooted, breaking of the stemme or top of them, but leaving the roots still in the ground, which will spring again and spread farther.

All this the Bishop writes in pursuit of the proof of that truth we affirm, in justification of the above said Indulgence and Toleration, and in condemnation of the rashness, of them who hastily run into Rigor, Severity and Persecution, as such as make more haste then good speed to the end they aim at, and are more mischievous and Injurious then successful to themselves in their own undertakings. Only with this difference from us, which we may not passe by without some notice (viz.) that whereas we look upon such conscientious dissenters (as are morally Righteous, civilly innocent, and of harmless lives, and are also sufferers merely for their Consciences, under what dark Form soever because, for want of conviction only, they cannot conform to another Form, that is false and darker) as true Martyrs, whether Papists suffering for not turning Turks and Jewes, or Protestants not turning Papists (as in the Motion dayes those that owned not the real presence) or any People more reformed in matter of Form, for conformity to those that remain behind more Superstitious & unrefor-med; The Bp. mean while looks on all such kind of suffering dissenters, though never so morally honest.

Which things (say we) are just civilly innocent and harmless in not consistent with any dangerous Errors, or damnable Opinions (and so will the Bishop say of Errors, and Pseudo-Martyrs.

In confutation of which Episcopall Error and mistake, in that particular, we need go no further than this *self same* *Syllion* of the *Bishops* saying, in which he is found confounding himself, while he says, that *same* prospect of *Patience* which is found among *meer modern Sufferers*, and is at this day (and thereby many like *Lions* are become as *Lambs* to them) seen among the *Quakers* of all others, whom yet with others the *Bishop* seems to conclude as *disobedient Offenders*, *Spreaders of Errors*, and *Pseudo-Martyrs*, was seen among the *Primitive Christians*, and was the first occasion of *Just. Mart.* examining the *Christian Doctrine* that he might see on what ground, so fixed a constancy grew, and which shewed a *Divine Security* midst of *humane Infirmary*. For if it be the *same Patience*, *Piety*, *Courage*, and *Constancy*, as was in the *primitive Christians*, that now appears in the *Quakers*, by which they are kept above the ordinary passions of *Fear*, *Self-Love*, and *Preservation* (as himself saith it was) then *Bishop Gardin* must either prove, that all those vertues in those *Christians*, by which *Just. Mart.* (as by the occasion of it) was convinced, was no true ground, whereupon to conclude them to be true *Christians*, but (that all those things notwithstanding) they might be *Erroneous*, *Contagious*, *Dangerous*, *Depraved*, *Disobedient Offenders*, *Spreaders of Errors*, and *Pseudo-Martyrs*, or else upon the same ground and Prospect of their *Patient Sufferings*, must he conclude and acknowledge that the *Quakers* are proved to be true *Christians*, and neither *contagious*, nor *dangerous*, nor *depraved* in their opinions or actions, nor *Offenders*, nor *Spreaders of errors*, nor *Pseudo-martyrs*. And in prosecution of the proof of the point afore spoken to, (*viz.*) how not only *ineffectual*, but also *dangerous*, and *disturbing* it is to *Nations*, to *Persecute* and not tolerate *Dissenters* from the Religion established, The *Bishop* saith moreover in the 13th page of his *Epistle*, thus. *I am not for heavy Maltres, and rigorous Executions, which shall Imprison, Banish, Impoverish, or Destroy modest Dissenters and their Families, onely for the variety of their Judgment, when their Civil Actions are otherwise moral*

val, just and inoffensive, this Security would in some Countries, and possibly now in England, be not only destructive to many thousands, but very disadvantageous to the King and Kingdom, to the Trade and commerce of the Nation, by opening a little Wicket of Royal Clemency only to some, and shutting the Great Gate to many, whose tender and unsatisfied or Scrupulous Consciences, do as much need and deserve it, as those that have it in petty matters, while all other Scruples are driven to discontent and despair, by denial of all indulgence to them in greater Scruples.

Thus far the Bishop goes along hand in hand with the Quakers in his pleas for Liberty of scrupulous Consciences, impleading both and not the Principle of Non-toleration and Persecution, as if he were most earnestly desirous to impede the practice of it from the consideration of its dangerousness to the King and Kingdom, as well as its successfulness to its own end, and likewise much rather to encrease and support, then either to diminish, or suppress the modest dissenters from the established Religion, and to gender to tumultuousness and commotion; yea, he even fears destruction, if they be not let alone, and others also, and if there be not only the opening of a little Wicket of Clemency to indulge some, but of the great Gate also, to let in many other dissenting Parties, into a participation of the same Indulgence and Toleration.

Yet behold by and by again, as if he were *Major-Misabib*, Fear round about, and a kind of Terror to himself, and one that between two wars not well which is best and most desirable, he seems to side with another sort against the Quakers, even with those Some men (as he calls them) whereof no doubt himself is one, that fear the toleration of the Quakers (whom he seems elsewhere to recommend as the modestest among the Dissenters) may be unsafe, and to insinuate somewhat faintly towards the exasperation again of the Powers against them as followeth.

Bish. Some men I find look upon these Quakers with an eye of publick fear and jealousy, lest the leaven of their Opinions and Practices spreading far among the meaner sort of People, to whose humour the Rude and Confident way is very agreeable, while in a moment all their defects of Reason, Learning, Education, Religion, Loyalty, Civility, are made up by a presumed Spirit and Light within them. Should alter the manner of other Sects both later and elder, give occasion and confidence to common People, to run to Tumults and Commotions, and

practice of setting up God and Christ and the Spirit, by way of new Powers, new Lights, and new Models in Church and State; of which our Fancies we have had of late so many Tragical Experiments in England under other names, Notions, and Pretensions. Certainly, it will become the publick care and Wisdom, as not easily to permit the rise and spreading of any novel humours, and ways contrary to the good constitutions and well tryed Laws of this Church and Kingdom; never to trust them, though never so soft and seemingly innocent and best. And pag. 6. speaking of the Quakers, as a people that may be pitted (as wrapped up in a kind of Clowish Garb, and Ignorant Plainness, but not trusted. I should forfeit my prudence (saith he) much to trust their hands, &c.

Thus. Some men are more afraid then hurt in some Cases, whilst they are more hurt than they are either afraid, or well aware of in some others; and so is the Bishop here and those (some men) he speaks of, who look upon the Quakers with his, that is, with an evil and jealous Eye. And this, as was said before, is that dangerous Division and Snare of the Devil, which the Children of Darkness fall into, who hate the Light. He who is the Light of the World, and the Door of Salvation to the Sons of men, hath set before his People within their own hearts, where his Light shineth, an open Door, whereby to enter into his heavenly Kingdom; which Door no man can shut against them, which Light no man can blow out (though many seek to do it) any more than he can forbid the Sun from rising, and shining forth in its Season. Nay it seems so dangerous and destructive to some men, as to their (at least) Ecclesiastical Interests to attempt it, that they are afraid on the one hand to be found too forward to shut that door, or suppress the shining of that Light, which opens and makes manifest the Den and Deeds of Darkness; whereupon they some times plead (at least seemingly) an allowance of it. And yet on the other hand, if they let it alone to shine forth, to open and display it self, without seeking to put a stop to it, and oblige it; then they see the day dawns out, which darkens the Glory of their lifeless Forms and invented Worship, and that morning appearing, which to the Adulterer, that's gone a Whoring from God's Counsel, and Christ's own Commands, into many vain Institutions and Traditions, is as the Shadow of Death, in which they cannot walk without dread and terror at they scarce know well what themselves, in which they are surprized with many dangerous Paths, as well as

wish many fearful Dangers. What Tragical Experiments have been of late from the Fancies of other men in England, under other Names, Nations, and Pretensions, we have as nothing to do with. We write as little necessary to them as the Bishop himself, who would it not rather, yet vainly fasten some of the fault of them on the Quakers: Some men look upon Christ himself, and his Apostles with an eye of publick fear and jealousy, least the Leaven of their Opinions and Practices, spreading far among the meaner sort of people, who were they that commonly received Truth, when High Priests, Scribes, and Pharisees mostly rejected it, should after the pattern of what Seditious Thaulas and Judas of Galilee occasion Tumults and Commotions under pretence of setting up God, Christ, the Spirit, &c. And on such an account as this, when Christ's Birth was enquired after by Wise Men from the East, that came to enquire after him, Herod himself was troubled and all Jerusalem with him; and when Christ came into Jerusalem, all the City was in an uproar, and so was it at the preachings of Peter, John, Stephen, &c. and also the Cities of Corinth, Ephesus and others, at Paul's Preaching the Gospel of Peace, which never caused, but ever occasioned, and was ever accompanied with the tumultuousness of Rude people that attended it; but what then? Was Christ therefore not the Christ? his Gospel no Gospel of Peace, because tumults (as Paul speaks, 2 Cor. 6.) attended the Ministers of it? Was the Truth ever the less the Truth, or ever the less to be testified to, because its Testimony troubled the deceitful and truthless Nations? if so, how had Truth been propagated downward through all times of turbulent Oppositions against it to this day? And were they therefore ever the more excusable, who with threatenings charged Christ's Ministers to Preach no more in the Name of Jesus? And had Christ's Ministers done well, had they (as they did the contrary) forborn it, and obeyed man forbidding, rather than God commanding them, to Preach yet more in that Name? And did they do well who took crafty Counsel to suppress them and their Offerings, by Pains and Penalties; or those rather who counselled (as Gamaliel did, Acts 4.) to let them alone, lest haply they should be found fighten against God, and would not meddle with them at their Judgements Seats (as Gallio the Governour of Achaia would not, Acts 18.) Seeing no matter of wrong or wicked landness was charged upon them, but only matters about Religion, and Gods Law, which he confessed himself to be no competent Judge of? we appeal

to God and all sober minded *Christians* to Judge between the *Bishop* and our *Sisters* in this matter; And further, whereas, the *Bishop* supposes such a *saturnity* to be between the *Quakers* *Rails* and *conscience* way (as he calls it) and the *humour* of the *meaner sort* of people. If by *meaner sort* he means such of the *Ryder* and *Rafer* sort, as made insurrection against *Paul* at *Ephesus*; by the *Instigation* of the *Silver-Smiths*, who by that craft of making *Shrines* for *Diana's Temple*, got their *Wealth*; he egregiously mistakes himself, and it is not for want of *Ignorance* in the *Bishop*, both of the *Quakers* and their *Way*, that he is so *jealous* and *suspicious* of them; for verily our way (as confident as it is, yea, and more then confident, for we are infallibly assured it is the *Truth*, and are able in the *Power* of *God*, as infallibly to make it good so to be to such as do not *wink* against the *Light*) is so far from any real *Rudeness*, and so from all *agreeableness* to the *Humours* of the *Rude ones*, that however those who are meanly accounted of, and disclaim'd by the *supercilious School-men*, because they are *Poor* and *Illiterate* (as to *secular Sciences*) though of honest hearts, embrace and own it, yet such is the *guise* and *humour* of the *rude* and *ignorant Rabble* aforesaid, of the *hafter Sort*, that if their mouths be not held with *Bit* and *Bridle* (yea and though they are bridled by those *Laws* that are extant, as a *Curb* to *Rovers* and *Riders*) they tumultuously fall upon us, with *Stones* and *Brick-bats*, *Swords* and *Staves*, in so much, that as there is no *hast* to hang iron Men, nor need to bid *Mad-folks* run, so there's little need by *penal Laws* to subject us more to their *Wrath* and *Malice*, who could never yet with *Patience* wait for the *Word* of *Command*, nor tarry for a *Law*, whereby with leave to *you* and *execute* it: How much more may we now expect (but that *God* is able to stop the *Lions* *Mouths*) to be *spoiled* by them? Seeing that as the *Christians* of old were clothed with *wild Beasts* *Skins*, and covered with *Duff*, and then thrown to *Dogs* and *Hoggs* to be *Baited* and *Devoured*: So we are now *stigmatised* with those (as false, as foul, and ignominious) *Terms*, of a *People* defective in *Reason*, *Learning*, *Education*, *Religion*, *Loyalty* and *Civility*, [in all which the *Quakers* will at last upon a *serious review*, and *true account*, be found far beyond their *defect*] and then also left by *Law* to the *Limbs* of *lawless*, *Irreligious* *Ones*, to be made a *Prey* of.

Bishi. Nothing but truly *Christian* and *Evangelical* Principles,

(which are in the good old Way) do secure Kings or bind Subjects to their good behaviour.

Ans. As the Bishop hath commended the Quakers in some respects; So we shall freely justify him so far as he confesses to the Truth; and that he doth plainly, and sufficiently enough in this place, but that (as elsewhere, where Tolerance is his Tone after Tolerance) he starts aside again from his own Position, and stands not stedfastly to it when he has done: for if he did, the Quakers should hear no more from him such Words concerning them as he uses in the same page a little before, pag. 6. (viz.) Never trust the most innocent Similes, and harmless Simplicities of Innovators, Dissenters, Novelizing Humourists, though at first like Serpents in Winter, they seem very tame and meek; as to their Principles and Practices. But whatever he means, for the Truths sake we shall take him here however at his Word; for in very deed no other but those truly Christian and Evangelical Principles, which are in the good old Way, can either secure Kings or bind Subjects to their good behaviour; nevertheless, that either that furious way which some Priests would persuade their Princes to drive on in (Tebn-like) or the practice of such Justices, as before the

By which the Bishop seems to intend, not only the greater Hornets of rigid Presbyterians, and the lesser Wasps of Independants, and the Gadflies and Musketo's of Anabaptists (as he calls them) but the Quakers also, whom we may well judge he jerks at, under that term of other Insects.

Quakers have any way mis-behaved themselves, demand Surreins of them for their good behaviour, or else send them to Prison, is that good old Way, or the Principles of such as persuade, or practise Prosecution, are these truly Christian and Evangelical Principles, whereby either Kings are best secured, or Subjects best bound to their good behaviour; this we altogether do deny, affirming first, that good old Way, which in worth, and virtue, was before all other ways, is that of the Spirit and Light of Christ within men, which we in as much clearness and plainness bear our Testimony unto, as its dark Opposites do in their ignorant plainness, appear against it in one Taunting Term or other, in which our more beloved, than in this point beloved friend, Bishop Gauden himself, is not found wanting; who pag. 5. denies it, as a presumed Spirit and Light within them, new Powers, new Lights, pretended Inspirations, or inward Lights of which they ex-

As if [*to youth & old*] whatsoever is, to be known of God were not (though *Paul* saith it is in the very Heathens, *Rom. 1. 19.*) manifest in them; as if there were no Spirit of God in man that gives Wisdom; and no Inspiration of the Almighty (though *Job* saith there is, *Job 32. 7. 8. 9. 10.*) that gives understanding; As if God did not now speak to man himself at all (though it is said he doth once, yea twice, *Job 33. 14.*) because man in whom he speaks, perceiveth him not; As if there were no such Light come into the whole World (as *Christ* saith there is, *John 3. 19.*) which is, in it self, sufficient to save those which perish, because the world, mostly loves the Darkness, more than that Light that Lusts against it in their Hearts; and so resists it to their Condemnation; And as if because every Individual takes no heed to the workings and stirrings of it, therefore there were no true Power, nor true Light (as it is said therein) that enlightens every man that comes into the World, but only some certain fictitious new Power, and new Light, promoted by the Quakers, some non-entity, which is (as the Bishop fancies it to be) nothing else but some matter none. But this we say, what ere he thinks is there, hold with us, that only Christian and Evangelical Law & Principle from which all truly Christian Doctrine, Gospel Principles, and Practices do proceed; This is that internal good Principle by which (as by Ministers witness to many, ad extra, so ad intra, the Gospel of Love and Pity, Peace, and Mercy, Gentleness and Innocency, Truth and Equity, Righteousness and Right, is) (as *Paul* saith, *Col. 2. 2. 3.*) Preached, taught, and as *Nature* in every Creature within Heaven; This is that new and novel way (as the Bishop counts it) which if we prove it not to be of All ways, as well the Ancientest as the Truest, when ever called to it by the Bishops (as we never yet were) we shall be as ready to receive it, as return it. This Light was that way from the beginning, in which *Adam*, *Eve*, and *Noah* walked with God; and were found perfect, which was 2009. years before the Letter, which came from it, and its being, which the Scripture is a Testimony to, as those, who wrote it, did testify it by word of mouth, as well as by it, and were sent to turn all men from Darkness to, *John 1. 9.* *John 1. 12.* *John 1. 13.* That way which was before All letters, that is, they are before it, and this is a matter of which each other Way that seems to it self to be elder than it, and is now fighting against the rest about its pedigree from *Pier*, and other kind of *Antiquity*, may lay claim in reference to it self,

as

as John did (John 1.) in reference to himself, of Christ (whole
 that true Light, whose Light this is we speak of, and from whom it
 comes. This is it, which though it cometh after us, yet, it is pre-
 sented before us, for it was before me. And as this of the Light and
 Spirit of God is that *day*, in which all holy men ever walked,
 and we are bid now to walk in, Gal. 5. 22, whoever walk in it,
 and according to those truly Christian, and Evangelical Principles,
 Fruits, and Practices it leads into (which were those battles of
 Love, Pity, Meekness, Mercy, Tenderness, and Compassion, as could
 admit of no consent to the violent Persecution of any others, either for
 not professing their Religion, or for open professing [from their Prin-
 ciples of Conscience] the very contrary) were led, as to do no injury
 to others, which they would not have done to themselves. (And thus
 we ate, as men would willingly be sure against their Faith) so
 whatever they would that others should do unto them, as do unto me
 others, which (saith Christ in [Lk. 6.] as to the sum and substance
 thereof) the Law and the Prophets, Mar. 7.) which golden Rule
 (as Bishop Gauden himself calls it, and also numerous of it) is the
 best measure of all policy, and this is it whereby all Persons of what
 sort soever, even all Kings and their People, that follow it, are led
 to such a good behaving of themselves according to it, as in which
 they shall assuredly be secured and preserved, when those Priests,
 Princes, and People, that walk beside it in that Darkness that compre-
 hends it not, in those dark ways and places of the earth, which it
 condemns, which are full of the habitations of Cruelty, Psal. 74. 12,
 as Simon and Levi did of old, who slew Men in their anger, and had
 the Instruments of Cruelty in their Habitations, will at last be de-
 stroyed in their Counsels, and scattered in the imaginations of their own
 Hearts, however they may seek to secure themselves for a time by
 such outward ways, as seeking to divide and sever God's unity from
 his Church of Israel for keeping their Conscience pure, and without Offence
 in the sight of God and Men. For Kings, not when the Righteous are
 when the Wicked are taken away from before them, their Thrones shall
 be established in Righteousness, Prov. 21. 26, the King that smiteth
 the Poor, his Throne shall be shaken, for ever, Prov. 29. 26.
 Yea, this we dare determine for certain, which we find the Apostles
 self not denying, but confirming, that as such Christians as by God's
 Grace are taught to be truly simple,

* Page 41. Primitive Chri-
 tians were so small and cautious

that as such Christians as by God's
 Grace are taught to be truly simple,
 need

acted by Cain, Ishmael, Esau, and their Enemies, Malicious, Wild and Wicked, Rough and Rigid Race, against the Righteous Race of *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*, had any Being at all in the World.

Nevertheless, though the Bishop is sometimes a very great Tender to this Principle, and seems in sundry places (above spoken to) to be for *Respite, Lenity, and Mercy*, and to bear very pitiful full Pleading for it; yet contrarily, not only to *God's Wisdom*, but to his *Own Pleading*, for it in other Passages, he is found, Page 3, 4. [though Stiling his Address to the King in his Book his Charitable and courteous, on behalf of the Quakers, yet (so to speak again) under a pretence of expelling himself, and his Kingdom, to those great troubles and dangers, which in his own words above cited, he had said would accrue to both King, and Kingdom, through their sufferings, if the Quakers should pass unpunished and permitted] stirring up the King to those Severities against the Quakers, which himself says are not *Butable* to his Royal Clemency, nor *Native Gentleness*, in such like words.

Bills. The publick necessity will Require those severities of a Wise and Just King, whose Lenity to any Party of his Subjects contrary to Law will soon become an injury to the Community, which cannot be safe, or happy, but by uniform Obedience to the same Laws, which must be the Rules, and Measures to all mens Publick Actions, the Tryers of their failings, and Insister of their punishments.

Ans. We say, we appeal to all honest men to judge, whether the Bishop is not here found in opposition to himself, and to those many places of his Book before mentioned, where he would be thought to advise to *Lenity, Forbearance, and Indulgence* to Dissenters. For above he intimates it to us as his Judgement, that *flagellum Method* have nothing of Reason, or Religion in them, neither are the surest means to Rectify the Obliquities of *inconformity*, but innocent actions; also that to force Dissenters into Conformity, by *Impoverishing, Imprisoning, Banishing, &c.* is a very *Rough, Barbarous, Unwelcome, Unchristian* Way, disallowed by all wise Men of all Persuasions; that *near Plagiar, Counsels, and Punitive Courses*, are never likely to obtain, &c. That he is against heavy *Military, Rigorous Exactions, &c.* And that such Severity possibly now in England, would be not only *disturbance* in many thousands, but *very disadvantageous* to the King (and his Kingdom), to the Trade and Commerce of the Nation; and much more on this Part to the South

Thos.

Yet contrariwise, here (*to go round again*) he intimates it to be no less than *Folly*, and *Injustice*, necessarily injurious to the Community, utterly inconsistent with the safety and happiness of it, for any King not to use such like Securities, but to Exercise the same Liberty to any Party of his Dissenting Subjects. Moreover, as if he were wedded to his wonted way of *Walking the Round*, whereas before he gave us to understand, that *Actions*, though conform to the Lawes Establish'd, may be *innocent Actions*. Yet here he gives us to understand the *clear Contrary*, (*viz.*) that Non-conformity of all Parties to the same Lawes about Religion, cannot possibly be *Innocent*, or in a Community consistent *without injury*, thus (*Dixit, aliquid, mutat quadratam Rotundit.*) what he calls *innocency* in one place, that he calls *injury* in another; and what he holds out to be *Wisdom* and *Justice* in one Page, that he holds out to be *Irreligion*, *Unrepresentableness*, *Folly*, and *Unchristianess* in another. To conclude, whereas he says, the *Law*, must be the *Rule*, and *Measure* of all Mens *Publick Actions*; if by *Lawes* he means those that men in their own wills and wisdoms make, as touching Religion, we deny his Assertion for these Reasons. First, because the *Light* of the *Spirit of God*, according to the *Scriptures* of *Truth*, it and ought to be the only *Rule*, and *Measure* of all Mens *Publick Actions*, in all *Spiritual* and *Religious Matters*. Secondly, Because by dayly experience, it appears that the *Lawes* of men are liable to *Mutations*, *Alterations*, and *Repeals*; according to the prevalence, and estimation (*Respectively*) of those that make them, and yet (though such) may lawfully be the *Rules*, and *Measures* of mens *Manners*, in meer *Outward*, *Movable*, and *Civil Matters*, when altered not for the worse, but for the better. But that which is to be the *Standard*, and *Measure* in matters *more* *Spiritual*, as *Faith* and *Worship*, must be something that is *far* from *mutable*; (as not outward *Letter*, *Writing*, or *Scripture* is, without liableness to *mis-interpretation*) not subject to be *Repealed* by man: For the *Foundation* of *Civil* stands sure, and all his *eddings* *move*; and ought to be *invariable*, notwithstanding any of mens *Lawes* and *Edicts* to the *Contrary*. At this time it is sufficiently apparent, from the *Dissents* *Religious* *rightly* to the *Quakers* (as well as others) to whom it would be thought a *greater Friend*, and far more favourable than to other

Dissenters, hath bewrayed it self; and so much the more shamefully,
 First, by how much he *shylly* betrayes them before-hand (by his Con-
 sent to the Act) into a tasting of the same Cup of Excommunication
 from the comfortable Enjoyment of their Native Country; and
 from the Commerce with the Community of English Subjects; from
 Participating of that Native Gentlenesse; and Royal Clemency,
 which the King hath seem'd alwayes ready to Expresse to all of
 what Profession of Religion soever, that live Practicably in his Do-
 minions (as the Quakers do, save onely that they cannot sit against
 their Consciences, and so against God; for which the Bishop prised
 them) And Secondly, by how much he would throwe all his
 doings and sayings, under that shelterlesse Shrub of such Empty Ex-
 pressions, and Non-enicall Notions, as his Charitable civill manner,
 Humanity, Facility, Gentlenesse, Lenity, Paternal Compassion, &c.
 For all the worse he consents (at least) and sometimes desires to see
 Fines, Prison, Banishment (like those of the King of Castile,
 which himself calls Barbarous, and Unchristian, which yet himself
 Diminishes, when he is found Inciting to them, and will admit to
 be styled by no harsher or stiffer Name (being as blind at home, as
 Eagle-eyed abroad) then those Severities which the Kings Na-
 tive Gentlenesse may be Compelled to use at last (and is wise to use
 last, and which (not the Kings
 dignity) but Publick necessity doth re-
 quire of a Wise and Just King, whole
 Lenity to any Nonconforming Party of
 his Subjects, will soon be injurious to the
 safety and happinesse of the Community
 Pag. 3, 4.) We say all this his
 Christian Cruelty comes Marching in
 under a Mask of Christian Charity,
 to which his Native Temper, and Cu-
 lar (which abhors after the manner of
 Primitive Christians all severity, or rigors onely upon the foes of
 Religion) doth incline him. And Thirdly, By how much he
 deems he hath deserved so well from that People, as that standing
 onely their Moroseness, in respect of which he does not deserve
 very justly expect thankes from them for his pains, as appears by his
 words that follow.
 Bish. Nor do I expect any thanks for my pains, from any of that
 fallow,

factious, while they continue in their morose opinions, in their surly, rude, and uncourteous manners; I do not hear that they are generally acquainted with soft and ingenuious tempers, as to take any thing kindly, or charitably from those that are not of their own Persuasion: many of them seem to affect a scornful, and Rusticall way of Clownish, yea, of Scornful Demeanour, prone to censure, despise, and reproach not only their Betters, but even their Benefactors, and Instructors.

This course of thanking Clergy-men for their pains, that would Gratulation, they have long had from the Great Court, when they have done any thing that is counted by themselves a piece of Service to God or man (in which, if they did all that they ought to do, and that more too then they believe in this World they shall be required to do) they ought of right, rather to say we are but unprofitable servants, we have done what we ought) that it is now become a matter well-nigh of custome among such of them, as love the praise of men, more then the praise of God, to expect, yea to exact it as their Right, and that so rudely, that its counted a surly, rude, uncourteous, rustickall way, of Clownish, yea scornful Demeanour, not to use it: Yea, with such a strictnesse, as in the Case of Tythes (and other of their Priviledges and proper Honoraries) which being once of Old given, and received on no other account, then as the Almes to all the Churches Poor, out of which the poor Priests and Curates had their Part, that gratuity and benevolence of the People is now laid claime to, with such eagernes, and earnestnes, as their own (not onely, mere humane, but divine) that they challenge it as no lesse then Justice in People that duty to pay it, as that which is as due to them as any mans estate is due to him, and as not onely allowed but ordained of the Lord himself, 1 Cor. 9. 13. as the fee proportion to be paid them by all People, whether owning them as their Ministers, yea or nay, in way of Justice, as well as Gratuity, as the wages and hire, as well as blasse to them for their service in holy Administrations. For much to this purpose the Bishop speaks, Pag. 7. taxing the Curates, who are not at all of their Church and flock, not wholly void of the small Principles of Covetousnesse, and

Merely mistaking the text, in which that clause, even so (which bears the stress of the whole City of Babylon, as to this point) relates to the matter, not the manner of a true Ministers Maintenance; so the portion, not the proportion of a Gospel Preacher

injustice

Preaching Pay, which, First if it had been Tith according to the Law of Levitic Tribes, had been for the Poor, Widows, Fatherless, and Strangers, Door-keepers, and other Temple servants, as well as Priests, who had but the Tenth or Tyth of the Tyth.

Secondly, we are told, for that the Apostle could not have dispersed it as he did, with the non-payment of it, a himself and others, but that scrupul of Tyths been the Ordinance of God, but it is evident, he says they used not such Power, nor wrote that it should be so done to him or them.

Thirdly, May by way of Free Gift.

Fourthly, From that Flock they feed, and feed Pastors in, but another Shepherds Sheep, that are fed by others.

Fifthly, much less from the People not yet converted by them, for they went forth freely for his names sake, taking nothing of the Nations.

Sixthly, So far as to supply necessities only, and not always that (for Paul's own hands, as minister in his Necessities, yet Preach more Gospel in a year, than many Bishops or Priests in all their lives) not to the setting up of such boundless Superfluity, as many thousands per annum, which some have here, while their yearly Hiredlings, who take all that little Pains that

Infirmitie, far yet maintaining the Parish Priests by Tyth.

But for our parts as in the last Case of Tyth, (where we have any Tyth may have made for the Payment of them, since the Pope having a Tyth given him, hath got an Id in the Christian Nations, it is manifest to be contentious, we have no such custom as to pay them, nor had the Church of Christ in the Primitive Times, if they had, we will leave it to the Bishop, as he can prove it. So as to that Case of Tyth from the Quakers, which half an Eye may see he seems to be his due from them, for his charitable endeavours, (though indeed all his hard Speeches against them, and male Representations of them to the Bishops and People in his Book, as well safe and dangerous to pass on, and such like, will considered, be much more disservice, Calumnies, and Abuse, then either helps, or relieves them.) We are not so Smiths, Rude, Churlish, and Misunderstanding, but that we can and do take any thing kindly, and thankfully from such as are not as well as from such as are of our own persuasion. And how soon we are come out of, not only others, but out of that same Ignorance, Formality of those, (for

the not putting off the hat, nor Cringing to the great, nor using
 such flattering Titles as are according to the custom of this and
 other Countreys, as Your Servant Sir. As is like your honour my Lord,
 may it please your Grace, and such like flattering Congeries, and other
 Complimentall, Politicall, flatterous, as People & you sometimes such
 as have one against another, and are even ready to cut each
 others throats, and now to bring one to another, as if their intent
 whereunto they are to force, glorify, and worship the Lord alone,
 were made for men mostly so worship each other withall, for these
 things we have in our countrey, as we have, nay Practice of any man
 therein was not in the Law, but examples rather of the Peo-
 ple of God, both Jews, and Gentiles, to the contrary, witness
 Job 32. 21, 22. Where young Elihu, saying the language of those
 three Friends of Job, who in years, were older than himself, saying
 ver. 2. Dost thou speak, and multiplyst words, which thou hast not
 yet? 3. Great are thy words, but thou art not able, neither do the aged
 stand in judgement. Adds also ver. 10. Therefore I also will shew mine
 Opinion. And ver. 20. I will open my Lips, and answer, yet ver. 21.
 22. Let me not I pray you accept any mans Person, neither let me give
 flattering Titles unto man, for I know not to give flattering Titles, in
 speaking, my master would have me away, Witness Mordecai also
 one of the Jews, who could not give that Honor, Honour,
 Civil respect, and reverence (as they then counted it, and now also
 do) which Haman the second man in the Kingdom, as eagerly as
 eagerly expected from him, Hester 3. 5, 6. though his refusal dan-
 gered the cutting off the whole race of the Jewes; yet was it not his
 Role and Levelling honour, that moved him to deny to shew that
 common Courtesse, and those wonted tokens of Civil Respect; but on
 the contrary, it was the haughty manner, Pride, and ambition of Ha-
 man himself, which at length wrought the Kings wrath, and his own
 ruine on his own head, that moved him to be offended thereto, and so
 to Stomack it, as by his false accusations, and heavy charge against the
 whole People of the same (as he counted it) and unwearied strain
 to seek their Extirpation, in these words, there is a certain People
 scattered abroad, and despised among the People in all the Provinces
 of thy Kingdom; and their Lawes are contrary to all People, neither
 keep they the Kings Lawes; therefore is it not for the Kings good
 suffer them. And to desire their ruine, in these words, ver. 9. If it
 please the King; Let it be written that they may be destroyed, and I

All pay in thow and Talents of Silver, to the hands of those that have
 the charge of the business, to bring it into the Kings Treasury. And as
 concerning Gods People among the Danites, as well as the Jews, we
 find no such commands to them, nor such example of the Primitive
 Christian Churches practicing such respect, as the Bishop quarrels with
 the Quakers for wanting, mentioned in the Scripture. We find
 Christ and his Apostles so far from exhorting others to respecting mans
 Person, that they practiced no such thing themselves, yea the very
 Enemies of Christ confess thus of him, *Matt. 23. 16.* We know that
 thou art true, and teachest the way of God in Truth, neither carest
 thou for any man, for thou regardest not the Persons of men; the Apo-
 stle James also is so far from pleading (as this Bishop doth) against our
 Brother in this particular, that he declares it as inconsistent (de jure)
 with the Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ to have respect to the Persons
 of men, because of gold rings, costly apparel, and gay clothing,
 riches, high places, and such other accomplishments; when the poor
 because of their raiment are slighted and despised, and that it is con-
 trary to the Royal Law of the Scripture, and that it is Commission of
 Sin, and Transgression. Jude also declares it to be the guise of the
 worldly Scoffers, and complainers of the last times, that should walk
 after their own Lusts, while their words speake great swelling
 words, to have mens Persons in admiration because of advantage. Jude
 17, 16. Moreover Christs Disciples were commanded by him in
 their Itinerary Ministry to the truth, to salute no man by the way,
 Luke 10:4. So that here is instance enough of Gods People, both
 among the Jews and others (as in the Case of Elisha) refusing them-
 selves, and reprovng in others the showing of the said outward respect
 to Superiours, whose just Power yet they obeyed and were Subject to,
 as Children to Parents, hired Servants to Masters in their business, in
 which they were faithful, or Subjects to Kings and Princes, under
 whom they had Protection, to whom they paid Tribute also to that end
 and purpose, &c. whom in so doing they honored. See Rom. 13. 7. 1 Pet.
 2. 13. to the 18. Eph. 6. 12. 1 Tim. 6. 1. 2. Howbeit they neither did,
 nor durst adore their Persons, according to all the frivolous fashi-
 on of their Countreys: Herein therefore is the Bishop found speaking
 contrary to the Truth (and tis too bad for a Bishop to be found be-
 lieve it) when he sayes the Quakers denial of Civil Respect, is contrary
 to the Reverent and humble behaviour of all Gods People in all Ages
 Jews and Gentiles, then whom none were more full of outward respect,
 according

according to the Custom of their Countreys: Moreover we appeal to the Bishop himself, whether it would not have been grossly ridiculous and absurd for Paul who was a good Gospel Minister, in those dayes to have laid with his Head in his hand, and his body bowing to the ground, to Timothy at Thess., who were Bishops as well worthy of Honour as any in these dayes. Mayst please your Grace Right Reverent Father, as if it like your Honour my Lord.

Obj. But the Bishop perhaps may tell us (according to the usual strain, when ever called to give any account of that excessive eminent Earlie Glory, Reverence, and Enforcements, which are their proper Honoraries in their times, in comparison of what was either enjoyed, or expected by the pure Gospel Ministers of the Primitive Times) that then the Church was as yet but in her Infancy, New-born Child, and weak Estate, and had not yet obtained so that perfection of Glory, Strength of Beauty, light of Purity, &c. as it hath since grown to and attained.

Ans. When we talk to have all things according to the Primitive Pattern indeed in matter of true Beauty, Holiness, Righteousness, Innocency, Patience, Long-suffering, Truth, Humility, Love, and all concerning growth in Grace to the measure of those best, and purest People of God in former times, that were his Holiest ones; in whose hearts was no guile, who were undefiled in the way, and walked in Gods Law, and did no Iniquity, as we read Psal. 133. 1, 2, 3. and concerning the perfection of Holiness so far as to dominion over Sin, and living by the more inward Revelation of Gods word to men out of his own mouth, then we are told that we must not presume to expect in these dayes, such high attainments in the knowledge of Gods Mind, and Will, such immediate manifestations of it to us, such a powerful presence of God amongst us, such a full measure of his Spirit poured out upon us, such eminent gifts as the Corinthians and other Churches then had, nor growth to such a measure of Grace without and under standing, such clear Illuminations, and intimate Acquaintance with Gods Counsel, and those internal Dictates of his Spirit, so as to discern them from Delusions, nor such perfect Ability to walk so exactly with God as they then did; And why? namely because the Church in the Apostles times was eminently shining forth in its prime, lustre, and full vigour, perfect glory and beauty, and the Saints then were Fathers, strong Men, and well grown Christians, in comparison of whom those in after Ages, especially we of these latter

later Ages, are but *Infants, Children, Weaklings, Infants*, that must suck what Knowledge, and attainment in *Christianity* we have, as it were from their *Breasts*, so that in the *Respect* fore mentioned, the Church with them, which now is grown young again, and back into its *Childhood*, into a *state and stature of Infancy*, was then as it were in a *state of Man-hood*: But when we query, and expostulate with that *Clergy* that is but falsely so called, as in *contradistinction* to them they call the *Lairy*, * concerning that *Pomp* and *Lordliness* they now appear in,

that *high Preheminence, honourable Titles*, of *Popes, Cardinals, Arch-Bishops, Arch-Deacons, The Deans, Worship, my Lords Grace, &c.* Superabundant *Maintenance*, as in-

* For the Scripture calls the *Flock the Clergy, or Heritage*, as in *contradistinction* to the *Presbiterary, Pastoral, or Episcopacy*, 1 Pet. 5. 1, 2, 3. *For* *Kings*, as *superfluous*, as *superstitious Ceremonies, Orders, Offices, and Officials, Parsons, Vicars, Curats, Chapters, Prebends, Canons, Registers, Apparitors, Proctors, Organists, Singers, Choristers, and outward Observations concerning Meats, Drinks, Dayes, Times, Postures, Gestures, Hats, Habits, and other not more multitudinous than Immemorial Formalities* in their *Worships*, of *meer legal Concernment and Consideration*, never known, nor heard of in the *pure Dayes* of the *Apostles*: Then, in order to our resolution in this, we are by them given to understand that, which can never stand under the animadversion of an impartial observer of their *Absurdities*, without a just censure of *Confusion and Contradiction* to themselves, to this purpose, (*viz.*) That in the *Apostles* times the Church was then but in her *non age, weakness, infancy, immaturity, unpolished condition*, and could not be settled in that completeness, as to all those *outward decencies, orders, and accomplishments*, which now it hath: That was but the day of the *Christian Churches* *Nativity*, wherein her *Nativity* was not out, neither was the *waste in water* to supple her, nor *sattered* at all, not *swaddled* at all, she was under *Preservation*, no eye pitying her, to do any of those *great things* for her, which have since been done by *Christian Emperours, Kings, and Princes*, who have bestowed *great Revenues* on her. But since she hath multiplied as the *seed of the Field*, is increased and waxen great, and come to *use* *Ornaments*, her *Breasts* are fashioned, her *Hair* grown, whereas she was *naked and bare*, she is clothed with *brodered Work*, *girded about* with *fine Linnen*, *decked with Gold and Silver*, *ears* *fine Flower, Honey and Oyl*, is exceeding *Beautiful*, perfect in *Comeliness*,

is attained to *Maturity*; hath a *Crown* upon her *Fead*, and is pro-
 pered into a *Kingdom*; and hath changed those *earthen Vessels* (viz.
Illiterate Men, otiose mean Mechanicks) into *silver Chalice*, and
golden Cups; *Academically* educated *Preachers*, *Scholastick* *Ra-*
bies, and hath ascended beyond the *Minions*, *Inferiority*, *Popu-*
Professionary of those suffering Times: And thus, *Quæ Eclipsa*
parit diem sita superavit; i. e. (in one sense, as well as in ano-
ther) *devoravit matrem*.

Bish. Possibly the *Quakers* may in a fit fear and flatter some men in
 Power, &c.

Ans. The *Quakers* cannot justly be charged with *Flattery* of
 any men, or *Fearing* with that *Fear*, that is consistent with *Flattery*,
 the *Persons* of any men in *Power*: This is the Practice of those that
 seek outward *Promotions*, and *Greatness* in the *World*, as the *Qua-*
kers do not; for if they could have either fear'd, or flattered, they
 had not Suffered what they have hitherto undergone, but might
 have had as many *Priviledges*, and *Earthly Advantages* as others
 have, their *Sufferings* being often on no other account, but because
 they could neither *Fear* nor *Flatter* (as others can, who have *wise*
Persons in *Admiration*, meerly for their own *Advantage*) the *Person*
 of such as are in *Power*; So that the *Bishop* hath under a pretence of
Unity to us, not a little wronged us herein also, for we believe that
 if we could either *Fear* or *flatter* this *Bishop* and his *Brethren*, we
 should be better thought of by them than we are: And as he hath
 injured us, so is he not altogether free in this place, of *contumeli-*
os to himself, if experience it self may serve in proof hereof, that
Fear and *Flattery* be (as we well know it is) that outward *respect*
 and *Civility*, which according to the *custom* of this *Country* is used
 among men (most men putting off the *Hat*, *Bowing*, *Cringing*,
Superiors, giving *flattering Titles* upon no other account commonly,
 but either because of *Gay Clouds*, *fear of Frowns*, or *hope of Favour*)
 Then the *Bishop* (as well as often elsewhere) hath contradicted
 himself here, for as much as he first saith, the *Quakers* refuse to give
 outward *Respect*, and *Civility*, according to the *custom* of their *Country*,
 and yet in the next words, saith, *Possibly the Quakers may Fear and*
Flatter some men in Power, which is that *assumary* *Respect* and *Civi-*
lity of the *Country* which stands well nigh indifferently in *fear* and
flattery; but if they cannot be prov'd to *fear* and *flatter* (as indeed
 they cannot) then the *Bishop* must needs be guilty of either *Flattery*,
 or *Fear*.

in Self-contradiction; seeing the Quakers are free, not only from Fear and Flattery, whereof he chargeth them, but consequently also from having due Respect to Superiors, according to the custom of the Country. But whereunto may the Quakers liken this Bishop, who is pleased with them neither full nor fasting? For when he speaks concerning that plann'd, and ~~some~~ right ~~command~~, which in Conscience to God, and not in contempt of any man, we use towards them; This he styles a Rude, Rustical, Clamorous, Leaveling Humour in us, and denial of common Courtesy, and civil Respects to Superiors, contrary (but falsely as is shew'd above) to the reverent behaviour of all Gods People in all ages. But when he supposes (as he doth, but false) of us, that in some fit we yield that was customary, and warranted Respect of the Country, to men in Power; this likes him so little on the other hand, that it comes with a conspire from him, under the Denomination of Fear and Flattery.

Bish. Page 6. I have seen indeed some of these Papers, and received some of their letters, written to my self, truly not very Rude, nor Impertinently, yet with searupt and obscure a way of (so blindly censorious, and fondly dictating) that saving a few good words, and Godly Phrases in them, I found very little of Rational, or Scriptural Demonstration, many passages so far from beauty and strength of Reason, that they had not the ordinary Symmetry of Reason, or the lineaments of common Sense in them, at least in my apprehension, who am wholly a stranger to any Casting, or Chymical Divinity, which bubbles forth many Spectum Notions, fine Fancies, and short liv'd Conceptions, floating a little in an empty Brain, but not enduring the firm touch, or breath of any serious Judgement. And page 7. I have appears to me so nothing of an excellent Spirit in them, that there is much silliness, and never well savour'd Ignorance set off with great Confidence, an odd way of Folly wrestling with some Scripture Phrases; like Sepulchers painted with fair Flowers, and fair Colours, but void of any true Life within, as consisting of Sin and Error, or in vindicating any Truth, or necessary point of Duty, and Morality; They seem a Buike, Reinslant, Fragmentary sort of People, &c. A kind of Dreamers, Deceiving and Deceived, Dining in their Rude and Contemptuous Carriage, in which is Pride and Ambition, &c. And pag. 8. Nor is it a small insolence in them, to condemn in an Age of so much Light and Learning, to Obtrude, and oppose the Rudeness and Silliness of their conceits and crude Fancies, against the Prudence, Justice, and Pity of this Church and Kingdom.

Answ. There is a Generation that are pure in their own eyes, and yet is not washed from their Filthiness; and that is the Generation of such as call themselves *Saints* in this world, yet neither believe they can be, nor mean to be still the World to come: There is a Generation, *Oh!* how lofty are their eyes, and their eye-lids are lifted up! And of this sort were of old those *Lofty* *Davidicall* *Lord* *Beggars*, who seemed to themselves to be *Rich*, and increas'd with *Gold*, and to have need of nothing; whilst for want of standing in *Christ's* own Counsel, and not buying of him *Gold* that they might buyish, and *Raiment* that they might be clothed, and not anointing their eyes with that *Eye-Salve* of his own Spirit of Grace, they were indeed (however outwardly accomplished) inwardly *Poor* *Wretched*, *Miserable*, *Blind*, and *Naked*: And how far forth the Church of England (so called) that calleth her self a *Queen*, and her *Self*-*high* *Angel*, are found in that same *loathsome*, *like-warm* temper, we leave to her self impartially to examine in the sight of God, who seeth all her Works, and will (unless she be yet more zealous and Repent, and open unto *Christ*, while he stands at the Door and Knock) most assuredly spue her out of his mouth; But if we were to take a true cognizance of her State, by those *Lofty*, *Scornful* *Stains* of *Depravation* and deep *Distance*, into which this *Bishop* launcheth forth at large against the *Quakers*, in these, and some other of his Words that follow, we might (without censuring beyond what it meet) conclude her to be of such a *vaunting* and *self-glory* strain.

The *Bishop* seems (and that scarce without some indignation at the *Quakers* insolency) to wonder (our Beauty desire for him is, that he may not be found among them that despise, and wonder, and perish) at that work that God is working in these dayes, which (it seems) he does not believe yet (as obvious as it is to any eye over which the veil does not remain in the very Letter of the Scripture, which he accounts himself, in comparison of the *Quakers*, to be not a little skilled in) (viz.) that men so mean as the *Quakers*, so abrupt and abrupt, so far from that Beauty and strength of Religion, which he Dreams is among themselves, because (perhaps) of some unward *Eligence* of Speech, in respect of which he is counted (as he says of himself, at least) not a barren, or *disfluent* *Speaker*, to far below the ordinary Symmetry of reason, *Discernments* of common sense in their writings, so *Rude*, *Silly*, *Ignorant*, *Unchristianised*, and *Crude* in their

Faint,

Pharisees should with so great *Confidence*, in an age of so much
Light and *Learning*, take upon them to be (as he at least supposes they
 are) *so blindly Conscientious*, such bold *Diffusers* of things for Truth,
 which he deems to be but their own *Dreams*, *deceptions*, and *dotages*,
 of men of such *renown* as himself; for *Beauty* and *strength* of *Re-*
ligion, *Sense*, and *Reason*; but surely if he did not Read the *Script-*
ures by whole-sale, more then by retail, or did but heed the *inside*
 of that Book, which he is so *busy* about the *back-side* of, unless he be
 one of those *Learned ones* to whom that Book is sealed, he might
 easily understand that it is those *low*, *filly*, *mean* wayes, whereby
 God ever *delights* to do the *greatest* matters, that no *flesh* might glory
 in his presence, nor any man, nor *mans* *parts*, *strength*, *Learning*
Education, or *Wisdom* be accounted of: Have you never Read; O
 (conferre *Acum Academi*, ye profound, *prudential*, *Renowned* *Rabbies*)
 how great *Goliath* of *Gath*, that defied the *Armies* of *Israel* and the
Living God, was of old brought down by a *sling* and *stone*, in the
 hands of a *Stripling*, that came not to him with *Sword* nor *Spear*,
 but in the *Name* of the *God* of that *People*. whom he defied? have
 ye never read now in the *last* *dayes* of the *deliverance* of his *People*,
 he will do *thidike*, and make his *weakings* as *David*, to go forth
 and *subdue* with *sling-stones*? *Zach.* 9. 15. How he will draw out that
Cracked Serpent, *Levi*, with a *hook*? yea how the *least* of that
 little flock of his *Sheep* shall hear his voice, which the *learned* *Scribes*
 had not heard at *any* *time*, though they pretended to great skill in
searching the *Scriptures*, should draw him out? how, out of the *mouths*
 of *Babes* and *sucklings* he will *perfect* his own *praise*, and obtain *strength*
 against the *Persecutors*, to *still* the *Enemy* and the *Avenger*? *Psalm* 8.
 Although the *Chief Priests* and *Scribes*, *Mat.* 21. 15, 16. *Luke* 19.
 39. were sore displeased at it, and would fain have had them been
Rebuked, and *Commaned* to hold their *Peace*? how he will speak to
 the *Drunkards* of *Ephraim*, that, through the *wine* of their own *wise*
dom, and through *strong drink*, are *out* of the *way*, even the *Priest*
 and the *Prophet* that are *out* of the *way*, through the *strong drink* of
 their own *vain* *divinations*, and *Err* in *Vision*, and *stumble* in *Judg-*
ment; how he will speak to them with *hammering* lips; and another
 tongue than they look for? And how the *Word* of the *Lord* out of
 the *mouths* of his *weaved Children*, shall be *Precepts* upon *Precepts*, *Re-*
cept upon Precept, *Line upon Line*, *Line upon Line*, *here a little*, and
there a little, that they may go and fall *backward*, and be *broken*, and
 snared

sworn and taken? *Isa. 28.* How it seems said in his sight, to hide the
 Glorious Mysteries of his Gospel and Kingdom from the Wise and Pru-
 dent, while he reveals them unto Rabes, *Mat. 23.* How Christ himself
 and that Excellent Glory of his, which was the fulness of that Grace and
 Truth, that came and comes to his Saints in the Light by him (the
 shadow onely of which Substantial Image of the Father, came by
 Moses; and is found among all that are Learned, no higher then the
 Letter) was hid under that mean outward appearance, and Occupation
 of the Carpenter, *Mark 6. 3.* And did any of the Rulers of the Pha-
 risees believe in him, but onely that People of whom they said, ac-
 cording as they also thought, they knew not the Law, and were accus'd
 now, by the foolishness of Preaching, *Isa. 28.* in the Wisdom of God, the
 World by Wisdom knowes not God, it pleas'd him to save them that be-
 lieve? how he will save the Tents of Judah, Rude Rusticks, honest
 poor plain-hearted Country men first, that the Glory of the house of
 David, and of the Inhabitants of Jerusalem, Kings and Princes, chief
 Priests, Renowned Doctors, wise Counsellors, deep Studied Schollars, rich,
 rich, proud, self-conceited Citizens, and such like, may not magnify them-
 selves against Judah? How, he makes foolish the Wisdom of the Wise,
 and brings to nought the understanding of the Prudent. How he sends
 his Treasures which is the Truth, in earthen vessels. When the Baby-
 lonish Trash of Abomination and filthiness, and Spiritual Fer-
 nications is exhibited in the golden Cup which is in her hand, *Rev. 17.*
 How he delights to provoke a Nation that hath provoked him to anger
 by their own inventions, to Jealousie by a foolish Nation, and to woe
 them by a People that are not a People in their eyes, *Deut. 32. 21. Rom.*
10. 19. How he made use of Aquila a Tent-maker, and Priscilla
 his Wife, to take to them Apollo (then a more Eminent Preacher of
 Christ then any Parish Priest is in these dayes, though he knew him
 yet but as it were after the flesh) and to instruct him in the way of God
 more perfectly? And what if God, who (as to the substance of it) is
 Eternal, and unchangeable in his way, will go the same way now as
 ever he has done, and beset the Learned Grecian, the Scholastical
 Scribe, and disputer of this world, by his foolishness, which is wiser
 then man, and by his weakness which is stronger then man, and put
 out the eyes of those men, that are so wise in their own eyes, and pru-
 dent in their own sight, as the whole Fraternity of the Clergy are,
 that seem to themselves as Sons of Anack, whilst the Quakers are
 lookt upon by them with disdain, as no other then meer Gashoppes

in their eyes; so that they shall call *good evil*, and *evil good*, put *darkness for Light*, and *Light for darkness*, *bitter for sweet*, and *sweet for bitter* ? what if he will turn *wise men backward*, and make their *knowledge foolish* and carry away *Counsellors spoiled*, and send his Son (*a new*) as a *Light* into the world, that those that *see not* may *see*, and that those that *see* (as the *Seers* seem to themselves to do) may be made *blind* ? Does he *any more* then was wont to be done of *old* ? Is there *any new thing* thereby done under the *Sun* ? Is it *any more* then what hath said he *will do* ? And must he cease to do as he *ever hath done*, and hath said he *ever will do*, because the *wise men* in their own eyes cannot trace him in his *footsteps*, which are in the *great deep* ? *Alas poor foolish men*, that are *glorjng* in your own *wisdom*, and *strong men* in your *strength*, while Gods People *glory* in the Lord alone, and *rejoyce* in his *highness*, who is the God of their *Salvation* ; Little do you think how he that sits in Heaven hath them that oppose his *Image* in derision, how the *Virgin Daughter of Zion* shakes her head (as she did of old against the *Insolent Assyrian*) at the *arrogant Antichristian*, which *Reproaches*, and *Blasphemes*, and *Exalts* himself, and lifts up his *haughty Eyes* on high (for so the *Eminent Ecclesiasticks* now do) against the *Light of Israel*, that is as a *Fire*, and his *Holy One* that is as a *Flame*, that shall *kindle upon Thickets of the Forrest*, even all that *vast wast Wilderness* of *External*, *Traditionary Religion*, that is sprung up out of the *bottomless Pit* of *meer mans Invention*, and *Imagination*, which knows no bounds of adding *Ceremony to Ceremony*, till the *Substance* and *Power of Godliness* is eaten out of doors, as *Pharaohs* seven *thin ears of Corn*, and *lean Kine* did devour the *Fat* and *well-liking* ; Yea verily, a little of that *Honesty*, *Simplicity*, and *Truth* in the *inner Parts*, which is the *Sacrifice* God delights in, and of that *humblest Simplicity*, which, with the *Bishop* goes for *Silliness*, and *meer well Catechised Ignorance*, *Plain Breeding*, *Unpolished Admiration*, and *suck like*, &c of that *Wisdom* that makes *Poor men and Women Wise* to the *Salvation* of their *Souls* from their *Sin*, will in the day that's coming weigh down in the *Ballance* of the *Sanctuary* all that *Subtily*, *Pollicy*, *Prudential Piety*, and *Wisdom of Words*, wherein the *greatest Doctors and Dictators*, who are out of the *Spirit*, are found *Teaching and Dictating*, by which they never obtain, or bring others to obtain the *Conquest* over their own *hearts Lusts and Corruptions*, nor bring themselves, or others, forth of all *Iniquity* into Gods *Righteousness*,

reconsess, nor (as that *Primitive Bishop Timorby* was bid to do) ever save either themselves or those that hear them ; witness their belief of a necessity of *Sinning*, and non-belief of any possible attainment (by the gift of *Gods Grace*) to live without Sin, while there is any Being in the Body : So that however the *Bishop* Jeers at the *Quakers* Writings and Undertakings, as some odd Way of Folly, dressed up with some *Scripture Phrases*, void of any true Life and Beauty within ; yet so much more efficacious are the meanest of their Testimonies to the Light, not only to the Convincing, but Converting men from Sin and Error, and to the vindicating of Truth, and (omitting the impertinencies of outward Ceremonies, which are not so much as necessary to Salvation) the necessary Points of Duty, and Morality ; then all the Life-less Preachings of those Painted Sepulchers, which flourish their Sermons (as with Sweet Flowers, and fair Colours) with Phrases of *Junior Fathers*, and Sententious Sayings of more modern Authors, that in the Name of the whole Body of that People we say to the *Bishop*, of that strange bidden Divinity of the *Quakers*, which he scoffs at, as nothing but Canting, and Chymical, in the Words of the Poet,

Hoc ego opertum.

Hoc ridere meum (tam nil) nulla tibi vendo Iliade.

Bish. My design is not to ravel into all the petty Opinions, *Enthusiastick raptures*, and odd practises of the *Quakers*, nor will I severely perstringe them, &c.

Ans. We would have the *Bishop* to understand, that there is not any, no not the most petty Opinion, nor odd practice that is owned by the Body of that People called *Quakers*, (though every thing that's done by every one, that may possibly bear that Name, may not be owned by them) which (however Jeered at by him under that old *Scholastick* scoffing term of *Enthusiastick rapture*) will not be made good against the whole Body of those *Bishops*, that believe they have so much ground to except against it, were they once made as willing to condescend from their high-mindedness (as the *Scriptures* require they should, *Rom. 12.*) in all plainness of speech, which most becomes the weighty matters of the Gospel to be discussed in, to confer with men of no evil minds, though of such low Estates, plain breeding, and unpolished manners, as the *Quakers* for the most part seem to him to be, and whom he perstringes much more severely, by his condemning of their Opinions

which, and practises by whole-sale, and in the Lump, as odd, heretical, and erroneous; which yet is the wonted way of all the Clergy with more they Quarrel with, then if he took account of us concerning them in particular.

Bish. I have a great pity for them; First, because I perceive them to be very unlearned, and unstable People, ever Learning, but never coming to any solid knowledge of the Truth, or any great improvements in Christian gifts, men of low parts, and small capacities, as to any point of true Wisdom and Understanding in things Humane, or Divine; tossed to and fro with every Wind of Doctrine, easily seduced with specious presentations, and strange notions, even to Raptures, and Enthusiasms, which are presented to them as novelties, by some that are Masters of that Art, and Admirers for that Part, for what designs Private, or Publick, Foreign, or Domestick, God knows, some suspect Jesuitick Arts to be amongst them.

Ans. If these, and such like Contemptions, Disdainfull, and Iracund terms, as he uses here, as well as before and after, were at all seemly from a Bishop, yet are they so much the less seemly and seemly from him in sundry Respects: First, because these expressions, which favour of nothing lesse then such a thing; proceed from him under a Pious pretence of his great pity towards the Quakers. Secondly, because himself hath declared this his own practice, to be contrary to that of the Holy men, and Fathers of Old; whom he commends as men guided by the Word, and Spirit, and so worthy to be imitated by him; for those holy men (saith he) did not at any time despise the meannes of any Christians outward Condition, or the sanity of their Opinions. Thirdly, Forasmuch as himselfe elsewhere, brands it as a prophane, and Atheisticall Carriage, to disdain the plainnesse of the way, which the Wisdom of God sees fit to hold forth the Gospel of Salvation in; witnesse his own words, then which we scarce need any other in most Cases against himself, in the 3d. page of his Epistle, where by way of Commendation of Robert Boyle, to whom he Dedicates his Book, for vindicating that homely sale, and mean way of speech, wherein the Spirit of God hath chosen to hold forth the holy Mysteries of the Gospel in the Scriptures, he speaks thus, Thou self lately Cleared the foundations of Divinity, in vindicating the Sacred, Yet unaffected Stile of the Scriptures, against some mens prophane and Atheisticall Cavils; who are so unchristly wicked, as to disdain, even Salvation it self in that plain, but

sure way, which the Wisdom of God sees fittest for humane Capacities, whereas few I believe of those curious Gallants, would be so foolishly to refuse, as to Refuse a fair Estate, which were setled upon them in the ordinary Legal way of deeds, because it is not conveyed to them in such oratorious Harangues, and flourishes of Speech as they most fancy: Exore tuo, &c.

Who would think the man that Writes these words in reproof, and condemnation against such as despise Gods speakings forth of Truth, through the stammering lips of such as are (as to secular Sciences) unlearned, and ignorant (as Peter and John were, Act. 4.) and Rude in speech (as Paul confesses he was) though not in knowledge, 2 Cor. and in such a Rascall way of Clownish demeanour, wherein Amos the Heards-man, in an age, place and presence so promising as the Kings Chappel, obruded and opposed the Rudenesse, and Silkenesse of his Crude fancy (as it seemed to Amaziah the Priest) against the Prudence, Justice, and Piety of the Church and Kingdome; We say, who would think that he who condemns it as prophane, Atheistical Cavillation in others, to slight the lownesse of those earthen vessels whom God chuses, by word or writing, to bear his Name to the Nations; should so far forget himself, as in the self same Book, to fly out so far as the Bishop does, into the self same fault of scorning of good men, under colour of pittying them, for their low parts, and small capacities, and so fall of himself into the self same condemnation? So let every tongue that riseth up in Judgement against this Israel, O God, and every lip that is opened to speak proud things, Proudly, Contempruously, and disdainfully against the Righteous, and despiseth not men but Thee, who to the poorest and meanest of men hast given thy holy Spirit, be left of thee (till it learn to know how desperate it is to despise thy day of small things) to be Cut off, and Confused, Contradicted, and Condemned of it self.

Howbeit, saving all this Bishop's high deirying of themselves (as he doth implicitly whilst he defies the Quakers as persons unlearned, unstable, never coming to any solid knowledge of Truth, or any great improvements in Christian gifts, of low parts, and small capacities, as to any point of true wisdom or understanding in things humane or divine, tossed to and fro with every wind of Doctrine, especially seduced with specious pretensions, &c.) We do not see any such solidity of knowledge in the saving Truth among the deepest of men call'd Divines, but rather that they are deeply lost from it in the

words of their own thoughts, Fore-Fathers Traditions, and certain outside bodily exercises, and beggarly Rudiments (as Paul calls them) about which they busie themselves, feeding only on the Theory of the things of God, which yet they have but a slender, superficial sight of, on the meer rind or shell of the Letter, and gnawing the Bone of the bare words, never coming at the Kernel, Marrow, or inward Substance, nor witnessing the Power of God operating to the bringing forth, and perfecting of his Image in themselves. When as (in *Aper-ta & facili posita est salus*) the Salvation of God, which is of the Soul from its sins, lyes in a little compasse, and is seen and found in an easy, plain, honest-hearted attendance to the teachings of Gods Grace nigh in the heart, and not so much in an Ability of disputing and Preaching over this or that particular unprofitable point, and im-provement Proposition: Neither do we discern such an eminent im-provement among them in Christian gifts, of either Preaching (without Notes) or Praying (without Book,) with the help of which, men of very low Parts, and mean Capacities (as to any point of true Wisdom or understanding in things Humane or Divine (if they have but Ability enough to steal good words from their Neighbours, or to compose the Godly sentences, and formal supplications of others, into the Accustomed order, and to Read them over when they have done, and can also be so far befriended, as to procure a Parsonage for it) may serve to make sufficient Pastors for Country Parishes, though perhaps they be scarce able so much as to Read the Scripture, in both those Original Languages, wherein it was given forth, if that were the Learning so absolutely necessary, as our Clergy (so called) to be utter unministering thereby of most Ministers of their own making, do solemnly assert it is: And as to the kind of Learning, which is so necessary, that no man can be a Gospel Minister without it, which Ignorant and unlearned Peter (as the Priests truly enough as to any University improvement accounted him, *Act. 4.*) said such as wanted were unstable, and wrested the Scriptures to their own Ruine, (viz.) the infallible guidance of the infallible Spirit of God, who hath no fallible Spirit, nor any fallible guidance of his Church by that infallible Spirit, that we know of: which Spirit the Quakers confess with Paul, that if they have not, they are none of Christ's. This our modern Divines, and Scripture searching Scribes, are so far from being that, as they deny, and do not so much as pretend to it themselves, so they little less than damn the Quakers as Hereticks, for pretending

to it: Neither do we see so much *Stability* and *Steadfastness* to their *Principles* among the *Priests*, as may *Justifie* them in their *Judging* of the *Quakers* as *unstable* People, *tossed* to and fro with every *wind* of *Doctrine*, *easily* seduced, &c.

For whereas the *generality* of the *national Priest-hood* have been *easily* drawn aside with the *specious Pretensions*, and *strange Notions* of *Self-preservation*, *Provision* for their *Families*, *escaping Imprisonments*, *possibility* of *Professions*, and such like *fleshy Dreams*, *worldly Raptures*, and *earthly Enthusiasms*, presented to them upon *condition* of their *closing* with the *rare Novelties*, that are *countenanced* under every *new Catastrophe* that comes into their *native Countries*, to *turn* to and fro like a *Reed* shaken with the *wind*, and *leaning* along with the *Tide*, which way ere the *one* blows, and the *other* runs; and to *yield forth* and *back*, to *this* and *that* and *several* *Form* of *imposed* *Worship*, rather than be *plucked* up from the *fruitful Soil* of their *Ecclesiastical Patrimonies* wherein they have taken *Root*, *unstable* as *Water*, conforming it self to the *round* or *square Figure* of all *Vessels* it is *respectively* put into; yet the *Quakers* could never yet be *seduced* back again, nor ever will be, from that *true Primitive Doctrine*, and *Principle* of the *Light* of *Jesus*, nor from that *foundation* of *God* on which their *Faith* is built, by all those various *winds* of *Priestly Doctrine*, about the *Forms* of their *several* *Worships*, for which they contend with one another, more than for the *Power* of *Godliness*; which *winds* have blown *now* *this* way, *now* *that* way of *latter years* in *this Nation*, nor by any of that *cunning Craftiness*, whereby the *Clergy* hath lain in *wait* to *deceive* them, nor by any of those above said, or any other *specious Pretensions* whatsoever.

And as for those *Transactions* of the *Quakers*, which (like some *Great Master* of that *Art of Tawning*, and *Agitator* for his *Party* against the *Quakers*) he *stares* at under the wonted *ironical* *Terms* of *Raptures* and *Enthusiasms*, by which what he intends *God* knows, but if thereby he *quips* at the *Quakers* *Petty Opinions*, and odd *Practices* (as he speaks above) of *blindly* *Conforming*, *boldly* *Distorting* in their *abrupt*, and *obscure* *Way*, their *good Words* and *godly Phrases*, *babbling* forth many *specious Notions*, *showing* the *Conceit*, *obscuring* their *Rudeness*, *Silliness*, and *crude Fancies* in an *Age* of so much *Learning*, against their *Ecclesiastical Prudence*: We give the *Bishop* to understand, that (though it grieve him that it is not; yet) the *Spirit* of the *Lord*, which *blows* where, and *in whom* it *will*

will be never the more straidned for his forbidding it, though he knows not the way of it, nor which way it goes from himself; who smites the Lords Prophets, to speak unto those Prophets of his, who are smitten by him; Nay verily, as little as the Bishop's Eyes are open to see, and their Hearts to believe, what is so palpably declared to them of these last Days in the very Scriptures, of which they deent themselves to be such Divine Interpreters; yet upon Young men who shall see Visions, as well as Old men who shall dream Dreams, will the Lord pour out of his Spirit, even the fulness of that in these latter Ages, which the primitive Churches had bué the first Fruits of; so that the Glory of this second house, that is erected after the long treading down of the holy City and true Worship, by the Nations that have got into the outer Court, (viz.) the meer name of Christian, and external Forms of Christian Worship, shall exceed the Glory of the former that was before the Romish ruinations of it, yea, upon his Daughters and Hand-maids, as well as on his Sons and Servants; (though the Mockers shall say, as of old they did, Acts 2. they are Drunk and Mad) and they shall Prophesie, and grand Gamulists, and great High Priests that have past the Prophets, shall cover their Lips; because they have no answer of knowledge, and either Lament or mourn in silence, while (Doctorem et Discipulum induit axer) not only young and mean Men (as Timothy and Titus) shall be old in sober-mindedness, Examples of Gravity, Paterns of Purity, honest able for their Honesty, regenerated into Primitive Innocency, Grace and Glory; Beautiful for Holiness; Eminent in Righteousness; Fathers for Experience of Gods Power upon their Spirits, but very Women also be as mothers in Gods Israel, though they seem (at least in the apprehensions of some that go for Fathers, who are yet strangers to that Chimerical Divinity, that God is declaring forth the miseries of his Kingdom by) to be no better than meer Cankers, Bubbles, and bubbles sort of such fine Fancies, and short lived Conceptions from an empty airy Brain, as cannot endure the firm touch or breath of any serious Judgement.

Finally, as to that Infinnation, and Suspicion of Jesuitick, Alls to be among the Quakers, in order to some designe, but whether public or private, foreign or domestick, God knows; We say God knows, and it is well for us: (Such men are) and yet will be willingly ignorant of it, let them have never so much experience of our Lusts and sins; that he does know it; who will also once clear our Innocency as the Light, and our Righteousness as the noon Day; to whom principally

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we appeal to judge between us and our *Mis-representers*. We say, *God knows* we have no other designe at all, but to promote the *Truth* and *Power* of *Godliness*, *Liberty* of *Tender Consciencs*, and the *Gospel of Peace*, in the flourishing of all which the *Peace* of this *Nation* is so eminently concerned, that if ever it come to know perfect *Peace*, if any one *Ecclesiastical Power*, whether *Papal*, *Prelatical*, or *Presbyterial*, shall be permitted by the *civil Power*, which is *supream (de jure)* to exercise such a *superintendency* and *supremacy (de facto)* as to suppress as well the *Quakers*, as all others called *Christians*, but it self, then the Lord hath not spoken at all by us: Mean while this is the *Joy* and *Rejoycing* of our *hearts* (wherever the *Bishops* count of us, or can do to us,) the *Testimony* of our *Consciencs*, that in *Simplicity*, and *Godly Sincerity*, we have our *Conversation* both towards *God* and among all men; being far from so much as *seeming* (save that the *Bishop* looks upon us with an eye of groundless and needless jealousy) to conspire with any crafty *Lowlists*, or to bear an implacable *Hatred* to the *Church of England*; the worst evil that we do (as 'tis the best good in Love we can wish to which is that it might once arise purely out of that grand *Apostasy* into the hundreds of *perilous Forms* of it, and into the *Life* and *Power* of *Truth* it self, and become as *Apostolical* as the *Quakers* are; much leis under any *Religious Pretensions* whatever, do we seek to undermine the *civil Peace* amongst any *Factions*, or *factions Ones* whatever; Nevertheless, if this *Bishop* had been such a *Wise Man*, and *Sober Christian*, as we perceive he accounts himself to be in comparison of the *Quakers*, his *Wisdom* would certainly have justly restrained him here, and have instructed him better, than to seem so publickly (as he does in his Book) to be so much afraid of such a mean company of *illy Fools*, or to suspect *Jesuitick Arts* among such senseless *Simpltons*, *un-catechized Ignoramus's*, such *home-spun*, plain-bred, *unpolisht Manner'd*, *Peevish*, *Incapacient*, *shallow Brained*, *Easie*, *Unvary*, *Blind People*, as he counts the *Quakers*, seeing *Jesuits* are known and own'd to be *Rabbies* of no small *Renown* for *Parts* and *Policy*, as well as their pretended *Piety* throughout the *World*: Herein the *Bishop* hath utterly loosened his own *Tackling*, so that he can nor well strengthen his *Mast* to bear him up in this battre against the *Quakers* but that he'll sink before them, as to one or other of his *Affertions*, which can no more, than two *Contradictories*, be both true at once, (*Ad Hominem*) What can such mean People, as the *Bishop* represents

sents the Quakers to be, for Birth and Breeding, for Reason and Understanding, as well as Effetes, men so Molested and Muddled, of such Rottenness, Silliness, and Crudity of Figure, and possibily of no evil Minds, People that have neither Wealth nor Wit to Agitate with, be such Deep, Dreadful Agitators of such grand Jesuitish Arts and Designs, as the Undermining of the Peace of Kingdoms; Herein the Bishop must quit the Quakers of one or other, or of both these his false charges, if he will quit himself as a man of Reason, and Understanding: Either let him say we are Crude, Foolish, Silly, Ignorant, Abrupt, Unlearned, Plain, Unpolish'd, Unarm'd, and so no Jesuits; or else falsly as he does, that we smel of Jesuits, and so are no such Non-sensical Abominations as he holds us out to be; for his matter is no better than Unimpeach'd Matter here, and let him Dab which way he will to make it good, and to stand sound, yet will it hang together as well, but no better, then Butter and an hot Oven.

Bish. As for the Bishop's next squeamish Piece of Delineation of the Quakers, which he makes the second ground of his Party towards them, viz. In that they are a Sect lately bred as Vermin out of the purrid Matter, and Corruptions of former Times, out of that Spawn and Filth which other Factions cast forth, the Deformity and Confusion of all things, and had their Beginning from the very Rabble and Dregs of Mischacterized, Undisciplin'd, Ungovern'd People in England, had their Original, and Extraction out of that Squalor, Mud, and Fecity of Times, which destroyed all Fear of God, &c.

Ans. This is such a deformed mess of meer medley and confusion, such a pitifull piece of purrid matter, Spawn, Filth, Squalor, Mud, Fecity, Foul, and False Aspersions, as we have no mind to Ravel into, if we should, how easie were it for us to commit it not onely First of much falshood; for our first Original, and beginning, is not (as is shewed above) from so low and loathsome a Darghill, and Darghill of dirt and darkness as that rabble, and dregs of People, of which he sayes we were hatched, (if we were of that world, that world would love her own, but because we are not of that sort of men, but chosen out from among them, therefore that rabble, and dregs of People hate us,) but we are a People born of God from above, of the Immortal Seed of his Word, and Spirit, who hath begotten us back to himself, from the Devils Image, which once we bare with others, that are still in the Degeneration, not by an Equivocal Generation, but a true Regeneration, and renewing of his holy Spirit; and our beginning is from him who is the beginning and end

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and of all things, but secondly of much *frivolous* also, while he makes all that *business* which in his Christian Charity, and *little Love* he Loads us, withall; a ground of his *pure pity* to the Quakers; for howbeit it manifesteth the *folly* and *wickedness* of their *Adversaries* plain enough; when the *Apostles* were *despised*, *reviled*, and *desamed* by them, and made as the *filth* of the world, and the *scum* and off-scouring of all things; yet it would have savoured of *Hypocrisy*, *Deceit*, and *Disimulation* in the abstract, should they have pretended to have rendered them their *will* to them; in *pity* to them; so it's bad enough in the Bishop to *bisquit* Gods *holy People*; but death of a deeper die, and *guile* in grain, to pretend in all this he acts in *Pity* to them; yet behold all this last most *putrid* part of his *Discourse* against the Quakers (as *unlike* *forth* a *superne* *desinit* in *supernatural*) from it fell under the *fair Face*, *specious Form*, and pretence of *Pity*, of which pretended *Pity* of the Bishop to Quakers his last pretended ground is as followeth.

Bish. Lastly, I *pity* them, because to me 'tis no wonder if they were *seared* from all *Swearing* by the frequent *forfeited Oaths*, and repeated *Perjuries* of those times, in which the *cruel*, *ambitious*, and *disorderly* *Spirits* of some men, like the *Demoniacs* in the Gospel, *brake* all *Bonds* of *lawful Oaths*, by which they were bound to God and the King, daily *imposing* the *Super* *Fetters* of new and *illegal Oaths*, monstrous *Vows*, *factions* *Covenants*, *desperate Engagements*, and *dammable* *Abjurations*. Poor men, the Quakers as well as others, had cause to *fear*, lest if they took an *Oath* to day, they should to morrow be forced to *renounce* and *abjure* it; yea, *condemne*, and *abjure* the *unlawful* *Rights* of others, to attest even by oath, the *Usurpation* of those *unlawful*, which were most *Diametrically* *contrary* to the *Laws* of God and Man. This great *Temptation*, under which the Quakers then lived, makes me have much *Compassion* for them; is being not only *case*, and *obvious*, but *venial*, and almost *commendable* for them to be carried to an *inner* *abandonment* from all *swearing* whatsoever, when they saw such *desperate* *abuse*, and *breaking* of *publick*, and *solemn Oaths*, as this *last* and *Dayes*.

Answe. We make why the Bishop does not as well *pity* the Quakers, if they be *seared* from all *Swearing*, by the frequent, *prodigious*, and repeated *Prodigious* *Swearing* of these times, in which all places are full of *Kenns*, so that there's no place clean, in which the *cruel*, *ambitious*, and *disorderly* *Spirits* of many men, like the *Demoniacs*,

In the Gospel, break all bonds of those good and wholesome Lawes
against unlawful Oaths, from which they are bound (but that they
obey not) by the express Prohibition both of God, and of the King;
not only frequently imposing it, and wa again a Supplicy of
that Oath of Allegiance, which according to the Law of Man by
which it is pretended to be imposed, is an Illegally Imposed upon the
Quakers, in Reference to whom it was never made, as it is Uni-
versally omitted, and neglected to be imposed on Popish Recusants (par-
ticularly known to be) in Reference to whom only, and not for the
other, the said Oath was at first instituted and appointed; But also
daily using on all occasions, and for the most part without any occasion
the Superfluousness of new invented, monstrous, desperate, and Dam-
nable kinds of Oaths, Jurations, Cursings, and Excommunications.

Peemen, the Quakers as well as others, have diverse fear, Left if they
take the Oath of Allegiance before some Magistrates in our place, for
fear of men, to day, they shall be forced, before other Magistrates
tomorrow it is to Morrow in another, since, though men can prove
they have sworn it oft heretofore, (as some Quakers can) and once
taking it is as much as by Law, it can be required of one man, yet
it shall be required of them again. As the Judge said in the
Case of John Crook, on the
and, as oft as any Magistrate our Bench in the Old Bayly, telling
of malice hath a mind (as a snare) him, once taking the Oath was
to make tender thereof unto sufficient, yet sentencing him to
them. And so they must come Prumise for not taking it
under the guilt of sin, needness, there again, though he offered to
common and frequent Sweating: prove he had taken it once be-
and so not onely encourage men fore? by their example to swear more

Confessors in Courts, whose they both swear and forswear them-
selves already, but strengthen the hands of those thousands of wicked
Profane Swearers, that they cannot return from that course of
wickedness, which is Diabolically contrary to the Lawes of God and
man. This great Temptation, under which the Quakers now Live,
as well as others, one would think should make the Bishop have
much compassion for them, it being not only evil and obvious, but
Vital and Commendable, for them to be carryed to an utter aver-
sion from all Swearing whatsoever: when they see among men not
only such desperate abuses of themselves, in vain needlessly mul-

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signifying of publick and solemn Curses: But also in those things multiplying every where, at many outlandish Courts, almost as often words, in those distant Parts of the World, as in 1690. But Mr. his very Proceedings, in being thus spiteful towards the Quakers, rather than the Disposition of any single Word, which he ought to bear towards them from a just ground: To the which wonder, that the Bishop does not so much as proceed against any of them, in such Temptations, of which as now most truly will be it: And as the Bishop's own Confessions are but a certain sort of Conscience, coming out of Conscience, since he has laid upon us, to (as far almost as is possible) to hold in our hands, for our own use, all his more than Praises and Commendations of the Quakers, to pull down no small Dispraise and Discommendation (not to say Contempt) upon himself and all his followers against them, since while he praises them, pag. 10. for *Chastity, modesty, Suffering, and so* against their Conscience, and so against God, the more shame he is to himself the while, and for those whom he spurs on by other sorts (for all his forming the way of bridling them by some expressions of his Book, to a forcing of them by *Mildness and Penalties to Swear, and so* (what in fact is) to *Sin against their Conscience, and so against God, for fear of the Threats of Men, and to escape such Sufferings*; which practice of the Bishop and the Quakers Adversaries, is in such a degree as condemnable in themselves, as that which the Bishop commends in them, is truly commendable in the Quakers.

And Secondly, while he praises the Quakers, pag. 10. for their declared esteem of the authority of the holy Scripture, as the Rule of Faith and holy Life, and their fearing to Sin against the Command therein given by Christ against Swearing; and (however they are by many suspected to slight the Scriptures) their strictness in doing what therein is required of them, according to the best of their Duties to be done to God and Man: the Bishop is so much the more liable to Discommendation himself, who in the same page doth himself (virtually and in effect) deny the Scripture to be the perfect Rule of Faith and holy Life: And whether the Bishop doth not so, we appeal to all wise men to judge: For that which is a perfect Rule of Faith and holy Life must be not only *standing*, inalterable, immutable, and not liable to any deprivation; but also of such latitude as to stretch forth itself to the regulating of all men, in all Truths to be believed, and Duties to be done, or left undone, by each particular man, as well but ac-

sary, as absolutely necessary, or else it's not so perfect a Rule, but that it needs another to be added to it, and so there must be two Rules of things to be believed and done, viz. one to direct and guide men in Truths and Matters of lesser, another in Truths and Matters of greater moment; which is as absurd as that of the Papists, who make Christ's Righteousness (as the Bishop makes the Christians Rule, like a Ladder, that is not long enough to reach to Heaven of it self, without another lesser Ladder at the top of it to reach it out with) the main thing; but their own Works, and will Worshipis so concurrent with it, that without them it cannot save them; for sayes the Bishop, Scripture is indeed sufficient for the Substance of all necessary Truths to be believed, and Duties to be done or left undone, but it doth not stretch it self forth to the Instances of every particular circumstance or Ceremony, which private Prudence, or publick Laws may regulate according to order and decency to Edification; which is as much as to say, Scripture is not a perfect Rule of Faith and Holy Life: For what is to must be a Rule of all things that are to be Tryed, *Regula et regulatum mensura et mesuratum debent esse adaequata*: But the Scripture according to the Bishop is not adequate to all things to be tryed, stretches not out it self to every Circumstance or Ceremony (and so not to direct in Swearing which is a Ceremony) but the private Prudence, and publick Laws of men must regulate them to edification, to supply the Defects of the Scriptures: *Siccinne Episcopi agnoscunt Scripturas esse regulam?*

Thirdly, Page 15. He adds this by way of Commendation to the Quakers, viz. That they seem to have so great a fear of an Oath, that out of a jealousy of Swearing amiss, they will not Swear at all; which Commendation as it tends to his own Condemnation, for as much as himself there says, That in this respect they shall rise up in Judgement against many of those (among whom himself is not the least) that speak much against them; so much more to the Condemnation of that Generation of Swearers he so much sides with against the Quakers, who seem to have so little fear of an Oath, that out of a jealousy lest that evil custom of Swearing amiss should die out altogether, in order to the upholding of it, do accustom themselves to nothing so much as to a custom of Swearing; who shall not stand in judgement at the last day, wherein every idle Word must come to account; Now ere they may now scorn the reproofs of any of those Quakers, or these reprovers thereof, who speak much against them.

The

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been
 named in the above report, in the order in which they were
 named:

1. John A. Smith
 2. James B. Jones
 3. William C. Brown
 4. Charles D. White
 5. Thomas E. Black
 6. Robert F. Green
 7. Henry G. Hall
 8. George H. King
 9. Richard I. Lee
 10. Daniel J. Miller
 11. John K. Davis
 12. James L. Wilson
 13. William M. Moore
 14. Charles N. Taylor
 15. Thomas O. Scott
 16. Robert P. Adams
 17. Henry Q. Baker
 18. George R. Clark
 19. Richard S. Evans
 20. Daniel T. Fisher
 21. John U. Gibson
 22. James V. Hall
 23. William W. King
 24. Charles X. Lee
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The Second Part.

HAVING hitherto noted some of those many *Machinations* turnings and windings of the *Bishop's Book*, whereby (not unlike to *Leviathan* that crooked Serpent) it sometimes striketh it self (as it were) out of the fight of such as are not wise as Serpents, as well as innocent as Doves, and so suspicious enough to discern the design thereof, in order to the more advantageously laying out of it self or length, to a deeper and stranger striking of those whom (as a Friend to them) it pretends to have most to do with, as if it would wash its hands from having ought to do with any rigorous, sharp and severe ways against dissenting persuasions, but specially, of all men, against the *Quakers*; as a more innocent people, and possibly not of such evil minds as others, while yet under the disdainful terms of *surly*, *rude*, *unconformable*, *rigid*, *clownish*, *stiff*, *ignorant*, *unskilful*, *undisciplin'd*, *unorderly*, *rude*, *unlearned*, *impellid*, and such like; yea, under the vile Name of *Vermin* generated out of *putrid matter*, and corruption extruded out of the *Rabble* and *Dregs* of people, out of that *stain*, *filth*, *squalor*, *mad* and *fecund* of Times, void of all fear of God, he delivers them over (so far as his consent to a Bill for that purpose, and concurrence of his Book can contribute thereunto) as *undesired* only, as 'tis undesired by thousands of sober people that are not of them to be sold as a prey to the *Rabbits* and *Dregs* of people to be destroyed. We come now (omitting several things for brevity sake, which otherwise we might make some useful observations of about his further plying to us, praises of us, and other *prais* and *praise* passages) to the Point self propounded by him to be proved, and to an examination of that *little part* of the Book, wherein its *Author* (having pretended before to sell the part of a *Friend*) interposeth himself on behalf of the *Bishop* (whom he calls *Charity*) so far as to their joint *passages* and *consent* with him in his Work, he presumes of pag. 5. We may presume it in either place, and the sum of what may be expected to be said

by the whole Body of the Bishops in that point) by his own private and single hand, to act the part (as to the lawfulness of Swearing) of a Convincer, or infallible Instructor to the Quakers.

And having already raised his Outworks, and subdued his Suburbs, passing at present through the Gates, which are as large, as of little force to afford any aid or assistance to the City they lead to; We enter upon the City it self, and come directly to a brief, honest, plain and unadorned view of what the Bishop utters upon that Subject, and of the utmost which he urges in proof of the lawfulness of Swearing: Which part of, whose Discourse in that point, howbeit (considerate considerandis) it looks big, and bears a successful Frontispiece enough, at first sight, to fright all feeble-minded folk into the Faith and sudden following of all that for truth, which is therein asserted, being a Birth brought forth by no less than an applauded Doctor, and much admired Bishop, backed also, by no less now than a Law, that Subjoins any that shall in any wise appear against it, under the Patronage of which Law the Controversie between him and the Quakers is by the Bishop himself as boldly determined against them, as disputed; yet how formidable a face however it seems to have amongst meer Formalists, who (their Faith standing not purely in the Power of God, but in the Wisdom of great men, whose persons, words and works (canoniz'd) they have in admiration because of outward advantage) are easily from a false flattery into at least a seeming to see strength, truth and reason there where in truth they see none; it hath (as brief as it is) more Bulk than Bulwark in it, to bear the brunt of those Discourses to the contrary (had he been minded to have answered them) whereby the Quakers in their Books extant against Swearing, before his own was extant for it, may be truly said by way of Pre-occupation, or anticipation, to have confuted the Bishop's Book, and generated the strongest of his Arguments before he uttered them; and such as are under the Power and Teachings of him, who is the Truth it self, and winnot do upon any *Iste dixit*, so as implicitly *furare in apostrophen*, to take Truth more upon trust, than *trial* from naked or conjectural Discourses, that discuss things at uncertainty, and pretend no higher than probability, but neither to any philosophical, or truly Scientific demonstration, cannot but (though parsimonious names) how little or nothing at all of weight (comparatively to what was by some, and well might by all been

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acted, when 'twas said that the *Mountain* were in *travell*, and about to bring forth (somewhat that way) is indeed brought forth to us weighty and mighty a purpose as his Book pretends to, viz. the proof of the lawfulness of *Swearing* in Judicial proceedings, in answer to the scruples of the *Quakers*, of whom there are many thousands (besides the many thousands that are not of them, yet assenting herein with them) that are upon more sufficient grounds than the Bishop's slender reasonings against them can remove, well justified how contrary it is to Christ's command, and far short of that Evangelical Perfection, which his Gospel calls to, for his Disciples to Swear at all, not only in *trivials*, in usual Discourses, but also in Judicial proceedings.

In order to a manifestation of it, how manly he manages the matter towards that, which is the main end of his undertaking, we shall first take notice of what was (by right) the whole of the Bishop's business (since he hath taken the *Transaction* of that affair upon him) as in reference to the *Quakers* in all the several particulars of it. 2. How weakly and imperfectly he hath answered it, not in some one only, but even in every one of those said several particulars under the consideration of which (as of so many particular points to which it is all respectably reducible) we shall find occasion, one where or other, to take cognizance of the whole train of the Bishop's talk, so far as it seems to be of any true tendency to the point in question.

As then to the main *Question*, it self, the proof of which in the affirmative, to the satisfaction of the *Quakers* in all the particulars wherein they except against it, and that so, as either to convince them, or else to convince them as justly deserving to suffer the severity of the late *Act* for the requiring of it, as wilful and obstinate offenders, if not so convinced thereof, as practically to submit to it. First, Is it not whether prophane or trivial *Swearing*,

2dly, Nor whether *Swearing* by any *Creature* (as such) not relating by it, and through it unto God be lawful or no? for these the Bishop confesses for himself and his Brethren, p. 14. they all agree with the *Quakers* to be unlawful.

3dly, Whether an Oath by any creature as in relation to depending on or deriving from God be lawful? For howbeit the Bishop would have it (were possible) find out such a far fetched sense, and serve the *Quakers* into a closing with him in his conjugal conceit, p. 27.

29. 29. 30. (which consist of his is indeed the very Basis which the
 weight of his whole discourse is leaner upon, that if it prove a
 corner-stone (as sure enough it will do) his Corner-stone fails, and his
 whole Castle, which he builds in the Air upon it, comes down to
 the ground) viz. That the Jews either upon a seeming consent
 to have some Divine Indulgence and connivance, or temporary Dispensa-
 tion heretofore granted them for it, or by the hardness of their
 own hearts, or the customary depravedness of those times and man-
 ners, presuming to take to themselves such a Dispensation, and to in-
 dult themselves in that kind of Creature-swearing, as a thing they
 lawfully, and that that was the sort of Swearing which Christ and James
 both do aim at in their Prohibitions of Swearing, which fancy or
 skill shew the frivolously of by and by; yet the Bishop agrees ful-
 ly with us in this however, and whatever the Jews shew thoughts of
 them, that those irregular forms of Oaths, as he terms them, both
 were then (saying the Jews consent to the contrary) as well as they
 are at this day unlawful.

Nor a 3^{ly}, is the question whether such Oaths by any Consent
 being once rashly taken, be obliging to performance in a lawful man-
 ner or not. For howbeit the Bishop says, that all agree they bind;
 that in this case *Quid fieri non debuit factum valuit*; and that like
Magistris they should not be sworn beyond, but must be kept; and that
 the Jews though they ought not so to have sworn, yet having so
 sworn, were obliged thereby, and were not excused from per-
 jury in non-performance; Which saying of the Bishop that all agree
 is this, confutes that saying of the same Bishop, wherein he con-
 futes, p. 29, 30. (quoting that of *Agrippa*

p. 29. *Jurebant Iudii
 per creaturam vivam; nec se
 iuramentis credebant, etc.*

Et 30. *Non putabant
 deus se creaturam iurando se
 per se iurassent, nec reddere
 deum Dominum esse iuramentum*

in proof of it) * That all the Jews dis-
 agreed from this, and fancied such Oaths
 were not binding upon their sense either as
 to their rights, yet that is neither true
 nor true to the Question.

Nor is the Question (as it lies in a
 full latitude between the Bishop and the *Quakers*) to be confined
 into this narrow Room, as the Bishop says it will come into p. 29,
 25. viz. Whether those words of Christ and the Apostles *Adiuv
 Fieri* do utterly forbid all Swearing in any case whatsoever, or all
 Christians; so that by the Law of Christ it is a sin to swear, as in per-

case, to in public Transactions or Courts of Judicature, &c. The C-
 ivilly raises the question too broadly, while he ties it up to the inter-
 pretation of those two Texts only; for though it must needs be
 granted that the whole drift of the Controversie stands, in strictly
 upon the right or wrong understanding and rendition of those
 Scriptures, that they are very well worthy to have the prebemi-
 nance, as to the final determination of the point; and we are willing
 to refer it wholly thither, and to stand or fall in our Conflict, by a
 candid, sober, clear, Christian, unprejudicate, impartial Asimulver-
 sion of those Texts, with the several circumstances attending them,
 and as they stand in relation to their Contexts, and other Scrip-
 tures, (and very well we may, seeing the Bishop himself gives
 ground to us so far, as to confess, p. 20, that we have of them two
 such notable Texts in our Day, which seem to stand as the Angel of the
 Lord against Balaam, with a Sword in their hand; to stop the way of
 any Swearing whatsoever, All agreeing that the words are a Divine and
 strict prohibition against the sin of Swearing; and therefore the fears
 and scruples of the Quakers in point of Swearing, are not to be wholly
 despised, but in all Charity the words ought to be cleared and their (syn-
 cretism) removed, yet whereas the Bishop lays p. 25, that the Quakers
 do not argue any thing further by way of rational deduction, moral
 grounds, or Religious Principles, either from the nature of an Oath,
 or from other Scriptures, or from the Divine Attributes, or
 they, but barely insist upon the words, and urge the Text only, I
 cannot see an absolute or universal Negation. We do him so wit, that
 as we own and know indeed the Words to be an absolute univer-
 sal prohibition, without any limitation or exception, so we are
 not under such an absolute limitation of our selves to the bare Let-
 ters of those two Texts, but that if any thing of a rational Conside-
 ration be offered, whereby no directus from our sense of them, or
 our judgment in that case of Swearing, we are ready to receive it,
 or to rectify our reasons why we cannot; And as our Books already
 contain are not without much of rational deduction, both from those
 Texts, and other Topics, so we may find somewhat more to of-
 fer, than our sense on those two Scriptures.
 And thereupon we propound the Question somewhat larger
 than that laid in the Bishop's Book, that he may have the
 more Field room against us, if he can find ought of solid Reason,
 wherewith to fight us.

6. The question then is (the other, as he states it, not excluded, but included) Whether it be lawful for Christians to impose Swearing under penalties, or to swear themselves, by God himself, or any Creature, in any case whatsoever, in private or in public Transactions, or any Sorts of Publicure, being matter of the Oath, ever so just and true, and the manner or form of it (as ordained by man) ever so solemn, and the Authority (Humane) requiring them, ever so lawful in civil respects, any thing in these two Texts, or any thing, any otherwise whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. This the Bishop affirms on behalf of his own Conscience, and the consensus-sense of that Church and Kingdom, yea of all Christian and Reformed Churches of any renown, that the use of Swearing in Judicial Proceedings is lawful for Christians, and that Christs words are to be understood with such a limited sense, and strict interpretation, as not to forbid the use of Swearing in a Religious and lawful way.

we see the Bishop does not dare to speak safely, though he speaks little less then sophistically, concluding not contradictorily to us (as he ought to do) but almost a negation; another thing than what we deny, and no other than what we may hold.

On the other side professing, that we are led thereto on other wise then by the Consensus of that obedience we owe to Christ. We have shewed that either imposing Oaths under penalties, or not imposing even in Judicial Proceedings is lawful both Christs Disciples, and that absolutely and universally Christ Will is declared to the contrary to all his Disciples in those two Scriptures.

This being the question, the negative part of which is held by the Quakers, it was the necessity of duty of the Bishops, who are found in the affirmative, very suitable to their Fraternity and Paternal Compassion (by both Bishops own confession, p. 23. to his motion to the House for some respite, till he were discharged) in order to the Quakers Inhibition, and such sufficient Instruction as might answer their Argument, remove their difficulties, strengthen their consciences, and either bring them into a clear full obedience in that particular, or else leave them without excuse before God and man, so as to justify the truth of the Law against the Quakers Error, and render them justly suffering the severity of it for obstinate

sending,

Further We say it was the *Bishop's* duty in prosecution of the ends aforesaid, either *per se*, or *per alios*, before their assenting to the Edition of the *Law* against us (at least of *B. Gauden* himself, whose approbation and confession that was) to have discharged it in every one of these subsequent particulars.

1. He ought to have perform'd that business of instruction, in order to the *Quakers* Information concerning the lawfulness of imposing under penalty, as well as of taking Oaths in Courts of Judicature.

2. Of both these in such wise and manner, cases and places as they are at this day in *England* impos'd and taken.

3. Now in the days of the Gospel since the ending of fulfilling of the *Law* in *Christ*.

4. Among true *Saints*, *Christians*, *Christ's* own *Disciples*, or in his true Church.

5. By way of proof, and not by mere affirmation onely, or bare profession.

6. This proof not by way of mere probable Argumentation onely, but by way of plain Scriptural evidence, and Scientific demonstration, that is able to give an infallible eviution.

7. This Scriptural demonstration from the Scriptures of the *New Testament*, not of the old onely.

8. Any thing in any Books put out out by the *Quakers*, or in those two Texts *Matth. 5* *James 5.* to the contrary notwithstanding.

9. Such as must succeed so as effectually to produce its immediate end, viz. removing all difficulties, such clear conviction and infallible satisfaction to their Consciences, as actually leaves them without any doubt, cloud or exception in themselves against the truth of the thing impos'd, and to be practis'd.

10. Or else in case of non-conviction, or of non-submission against conviction, after the *Bishop's* so full and effectual endeavours of their information, denominate them undoubtedly such wilful resistors, and absolute offenders against the *Law*, as fall, and that so justly under the severe penalties thereof, as to be left in their sufferings without Pity for themselves, and without any just Excuse before God and Man.

These being the particulars of the *Bishop's* protested Work, it remains now that we onely take some account of the residue of his

his Book, how unwisely he hath *unconscionably*, which if it ap-
pear so right reason that he hath, God forbid that we should
fully deprive our selves of that Religious Liberty is left us, and
financially remain that which is not only lawful for Christians to use,
but (as the rule stands) *essentially necessary*, as to the expression
of our Lives, *our words, Liberties, Estates, and Honours*, and in-
struments, but if otherwise it be so that our Bow, like Joseph's, at last
abides in the same strength it did before, however the *Archers*
others of all have shot sorely at us, to the wounding of our reputa-
tion among such as are apt to be more swayed by the Bishop's
left positions, than by the *Quakers evident demonstrations*, and that
our Testimony heretofore given, stands extant in the same fresh and
vigour as before, then (what ever others do, and what ever the
may cost us) God forbid that we should turn aside from following
the Lord, so as to lead Truth and Reason captive after them, their
cavillations and conceits, and not suffer violence quietly, without
violent resistance, under the Law of men, rather than do that which
the Bishop says p. 20, 22, *no man may do, i. e. act contrary to his*
dictates we judge, or but suppose to be Gods, and so formally and
maliciously against but appearing principles of Truth, and so wilfully
rebel against the Truth, or but supposed Will of God, whole-
ly *Will shining on the soul in Reason or Religion, serving* *good*,
is indeed the present Rule of Conscience, which binds so far as it re-
presents (though in a false glass, and though it err, as to the
truth of the Rule) and so violates both our own Consciences, and the
Command, to whom we Christians owe the highest love, Loyalty and
obedience.

First then as to the lawfulness of imposition of publick Oaths
and penalties in Judicial Proceedings, he professes it's fit, p. 2, and
should be informed thereof (before we suffer as offenders) by the
Law of God as well as Man. But we profess we cannot find
throughout his Book any proof at all for imposing Oaths and pen-
alties, unless he should count upon his influencing in Abraham, Isaac,
Joshua, David and others, requiring or desiring an Oath of them
they contracted, but not under penalties, which is not demonstrable
neither, being drawn but (as example) from the example of them,
and that under the Law too, whose practice in many things, or
deducted in any thing, though they were good men, is not our rule,
but God's own Precept under the Gospel, whose permission of them

own affidavit of the verity and
honesty of the speaker in their
promises and testimonies, in
their laws and contracts.
And p. 25. An Oath is on-
ly the attestation of God, who
is witness of all we say and
do.

call God to witness, any more than it
swearing by a man, to call a man to witness,
unless there be such a form of words
us'd, as to say, By God, and then there
is an Oath, whether by God, by man, or by
any other creature, as by Heaven, by
Earth, &c.) if we say, God is my Witness,
I speak before God, I appeal to God, I call
God to record, or such like (not sinking nor limiting our solemnity
bically to those very monosyllables only, of I say, I see, I know, I say,
which words the Bishop says p. 31. (but on his own head, as he
himself says only, for it's not so) the Quakers so much affect to use,
as if they would fancy themselves literally on verbally tied to those
monosyllables, and that are to be repeated in all their assertions or trans-
fers, nor scrupling to use such Paraphrases or Euphemisms in
speech as the matter, or the parties understanding or disposition may
require) unless there be a present observation as well-nigh every
state of those other trifling importunities, we are not to be
swearing, but punning, or not swearing satisfactorily to them, as
by them, who yet tell us that to say, I call God to witness, or such a
thing, is swearing, which is enough to make any sinner think
that the Act for imposing and taking of Oaths (though perhaps
so intended to be by such as made them) are yet, (being made)
made use of sometimes by many of those that pretend to serve
them on the Quakers; more as an Engine to ensnare and catch
such innocent, honest and trade-hearted persons, as might be
men have a mind to be wrong'd on, than out of any such
and good intents, as either to secure the King, or remove the
frustration from Judicial Proceedings, which, for ought we know,
might go on better than they do without this needless use of Oaths,
unless there were care taken by those that require Oaths, to keep
less Prophane Swearing than there is, notwithstanding all the
Acts and Proclamations that are out against it (even the Bishop him-
self confesses with us at large the utter uselessness of Oaths, which
he intimates, that honest men Oaths are needless, notwithstanding
Oaths are cretulous). And we would that all Councils and
how be little less than give up the whole Cause thereby, which is
says concerning the Testimony of God and man, on some

Epist. thus, p. 23. * Possibly as Christi-
tians (only such) we should need no Swear-
ing in public or private. And p. 41. In
private conversation (primitive) Christi-
tians were so strict, exact and cautious of their words in as-
serting or promising that there was no need of an Oath among them;
yet they so kept up the sanctity and credit of their Profession among un-
believers, that it was security enough in all
business for Christians to say, I am a Chri-
stian. If they went there further to any
Oath for matter of ~~weight~~ or Authority
weightful, they repeated this as the only sa-
tisfaction they could give, there needed no
more than the integrity of their bare records.
They thought it not lawful for them in such
cases to swear, being in this case Emulators
of the Elders among the Jews, of whom
Josephus tells us, that their word was as
sure as an Oath; and that they avoided not
only all forswearing, but all swearing, of
the which brought their fidelity in ques-
tion, and lost their Reputation of their just-
ice. These Christians, that they might not come short of the Elders among
the Jews, who would not swear but in Judicial way, or of any more in this
same manner, especially in abstaining from all unlawful swearing, did
keep themselves from all kind of swearing, especially from swearing to
attest to their Brethren and Reputation being too much to think
of. For these Christians, may now wonder, if these were so much as
Christians, and all the good folks of the world, to be so much as
to swear. For this was a difficulty in this
that took as much as that of Menander, so
that he of swearing (said he) is swearer in
the most of his life. And that if Solon,
if good men should have their words, that
would be tedious him any more for his
swearing, as being some diminution to his
Reputation, as he was so far as to be so much as
to swear. Diogenes Laert. tells
us, that the Athenians would not suffer

Epist. Gauden they
confessing the necessity of
swearing among Christians.

Just. Mart. Assert.
re. gentes in hunc
modum. ~~Epist. Mart. Assert.~~
Epist. Mart. Assert.
Epist. Mart. Assert.

Epist. Mart. Assert.
Epist. Mart. Assert.
Epist. Mart. Assert.
Epist. Mart. Assert.

* See how all along the
Christians their words out of
the soldiers, for this is the
disproportioned proportion
(since the old Romans, Emperors
became Christians) for the cler-
gy or Christian Priests, the
wickedness not to credit the
chief of them, it seems with
an Oath, which is made a
punishable piece of wicked-
ness for others (though it's

confess, above that the Dis-
tinction of Religion may be
as false as the Imposture) so
refuse an Oath when they re-
fuse it. For so P. 43 also, the
Bishop says, when other Chris-
tians did in public swear,
required by Authority, yet the
Bishops of the Church were
not put to swear. Basilus a
Bishop pleaded his privilege, when in the Council of Calcedon, he was required to
give Oath, the sanctity of his life, and honor of his Order being as much a witness
for his truth. But whether the Bishop by citing this, pleads the privilege of the Holy
Spiritual (so called) above the Lords Temporal or no, I know not. Namque
ultra quæro Plebeius

Xenocrates, a man of great integrity and
honor, to take an Oath as the others, as a
thing unworthy of his Reputation. Nor do
the Romans exact Oaths of their Chief
Priests, indignum creditur viro sancto
Sanctimonie sine Iuramento non cre-
dere.

Hence we find some of the ancient Fathers, as Origen, Chris-
tostom, Theophilus, Eusebius, Hilary, Athanasius, St. Jerome,
Theodore, Laetantius, and others frequently inveighing, without any
Limitation or Reserve against Christians swearing as in private con-
versation. St. Basil commands Cyprian a famous Greek, that after
he suffered a Multitude of three Talents, that he would save to by swear-
ing, to the loss of his Honor, which he thought was sufficient for his
honesty.

And as concerning the testimony of wicked men, and profane
swearers, the Bishop says thus, p. 17. the sin of profane and
trivial, familiar, inconsiderate swearing, for which the Lord mourns,
Jer. 23. 10, disposes men, as St. Austin says, to false swearing, and
gross perjury; nor can indeed much credit be given up more than is
due, to any man that swears as so solemnly, and in Solemnity,
who is a common Swearer, & hath no reverence of the Majesty of God.

All which words of the Bishop are here recited at large, with a
translation of two or three of his Greek

Arbitr of Origen, is be-
lieved not a man, who lives
according to the Gospel, to
swear at all.

That of Chrysostom. No for-
merly following, but
in such a manner.

That of Jerome. The Go-
spel itself admits not of an
Oath.

and Latin Marginal quotations into
English. (which the Bishop might as
well have Englished himself, for the
Quakers sake, whom he relates to be
strangers to all Learning, but that prob-
ably he fear'd they had too much know-
ledge to plain-hearted people, that they
may see how the Bishop hath here, as
well

well as in more places, turn'd the mouth of his own *Canda* against himself, wounded his *Cause* well-nigh to death with his own weapon; and in confirmation of the necessity of Swearing, confirm'd rather, first the necessity thereof among good men, their word being not amount to an Oath without it; and the impossibility of it among profane ones, forasmuch as their testimony is of no credit without it; and consequently the utter uselessness of it among any men whatever.

Obj. But perhaps the Bishop thinks he makes up that gap sufficiently with this bush, viz. This testimony of theirs against swearing extended only so far as to private conversation, not so far as to swearing in Judicature; for thus he expresses himself in two or three clauses of that parcel of his matter above cited, saying, In private conversation no need of an Oath, p. 41. Fathers inveighing against *Christians* swearing in private conversation, p. 42. and the *Bishops* would not swear but in Judicature.

Ans. We reply, These are but scraps of his own shuffling in among Those Testimonies of the Fathers, and the other Wise men whom he mentions, in repeating of whose words, he hath but made his own Rod, wherewith he would also as roundly have lash'd himself, had he but exhibited their witness in their own words, without mingling them by mingling them for his own ends, with his own; for there's no such distinction made by them: as he makes between swearing in private converse and publick Judicature: For it's plain their judgement and witness was against all swearing whatever. And as for the Effect, of whom he says they would not swear but in Judicature, it's evident enough by what we have witnessed of them out of *Josephus* in our Books, (see the *Antidote* against swearing, p. 39.) that they would not swear in Judicature, any more than out of Judicature: for *Josephus* says of them, That whatsoever they say, is firmer than an Oath, and to swear among them counted as a thing superfluous: This then Bishop might have added in that Book call'd the *Antidote* as well as many more matters, which by sundry passages of his Book it seems to us he hath said there; have only that he is loath to Rem to cite anything out of our Books, lest thereby his weakness in not instructing men, should the more betray it self: And perhaps what we quote out of *Josephus* in English, he (to hide both himself, and it, quotes in Greek: both in the 22, and 24, pages of his Book,

Book, *lib. vi. cap. de iur. iur. i. et ii.* Josephus de Essenis. And now it comes under consideration, since the Bishop states the Law upon those Terms of Swearing in Judicial proceedings, as if he meant (it really so he seems to be sometimes) and sometimes not again, against all swearing whatever, whether civil or servile, profane or solemn, private or publick; save only in publick Judicature, or Judicial proceedings. We have often marvelled in our selves to see the Bishop state his Question so narrow concerning that (by which he puts his Book on the top of every page, from one end thereof to the other) viz. the Lawfulness of Swearing in Judicial Proceedings; and yet wanders so wide off from it, as he does in his Disputation for it. For he comes not (whatever the matter is) so much as near any proof of the warrantableness of such kind of Swearing; but all that proof he puts forth at all for the lawfulness of private Swearing, if it were of weight to warrant any swearing at all, is more pertinent to prove the lawfulness of Oaths in private, ordinary conversation, and common communication, than of Oaths in publick Courts and Cassitories, in order to judicial proceedings; there indeed, if by Courts of Judicature, he should mean (as we see not how he can) the Synodical Councils of Clergy-men in inferior Ages. 'Tis true, he tells us of Oaths imposed and taken again the *Almums*, the Episcopate Council 'twas so and so ordered; and in the sixth Canon of Constantinople: Yea, nor did any Canons of the Church (saith he, p. 44.) forbid such swearing: Yea, we read of old, (saith he, p. 45.) *simon* condemned by the Orthodox part of the Church for this reason, that they denied all swearing to be lawful: And we know the Bishops that were so backward (as Basilus was at Calcedon) to be done as they did to others, and (looking on themselves to be privileged to the contrary) unwilling to take, and be imposed upon in the point of Oaths were ever (or else were not like their wonted selves) free and forward to impose Oaths on others; and so bind that heavy burden upon other mens backs; which they were not willing to touch with the least of their own fingers: But what's all this to us, who convince us of the warrantableness so to do, because those men who call'd themselves the Orthodox still, as they say, at the same time condemned of old all others as *Heretics*, that did not bow the neck to their Pipe, and sung the same Tune with them in swearing and everything else, when they had once got up into a passion, Lawfully Dominions over mens Faith? And what is that consent Judge-

...of those modern, Eminent Divines (as he Calls them) of the
...as well as Reformists, agreeing against Perjury, and Pro-
...Gardes, and yet asserting the Lawfulness of Judicium and
...and not thinking them by any positive Law of
...become unlawful, what this is respect of the Quakers is
...distinction: who know hundreds of things wherein as much as they
...fall out and fight, even to blood, with each other about their sacred
...Presidents: they all agree against the Light of God, the Power of
...and the very appearance of the image of him in his be-
...ness, who is the substantial Truth itself. We say, what is that ill-
...rather Tri-jurist Ecclesiastical Authority & agreement of the Clergy
...to the Quakers, whose Faith standing higher than the wisdom and
...thoughts of men, cannot (as the Bishop both thinks and says) easily
...enough, p. 41. 45.) induce them: nor much be moved by any such
...Envy, so as to lend their Power and Reason, deprived after them, as
...any Lydians Lapidem, or insensible Church Stone, whereby to try this
...of any other Truth. But if by swearing in Judicium, as in Judicial
...proceedings, he intends that sort of Swearing that is now impos'd
...and at, by and before Justice men in Authority: or Magistrates
...in their civil Courts (saying that it is one of those many customs of
...the Nations, which the Scripture says, Jer. 10. 2. are vain) Where-
...does the Bishop produce any evidence, or so much as an Inch or a
...finger out of the Scriptures of either Testament, of such a thing, in
...order to the Quakers satisfaction? For truly he tells us, as others
...tell him, p. 43. Certain stories, which make more noise, than for
...him, that other Christians were impaled upon, and had Ourselves
...Officers, Civil and Military: some of them, some what of all
...sorts (as he says) being required by Authority, and some had no
...in conscience, who when promised dismissal by the Prefect if he
...would swear by the Fortune of Caesar, refused, saying, Christianus
...sum, I am a Christian. And Bishop the
...story, who replied to the Officers, I
...is not lawful for me to swear at all, being a
...Christian. And he tells us, that the Christian Soldiers
...took Oath in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit to obey
...their Commander, not to dissent their Orders, and say for the common
...weal, which was called Sacramentum Militare, before, and so after
...Christi-

See how the Mysteries of Inquiry began to work in these days of the Empire turning Christian by the name and by whole sale, to the corrupting of Christianity and Christians, so far as it causeth them to call the holy Mysteries of the Gospel after the Names of the old heathenish customs, whence (as first) came that Name Sacrament, which is never found in all the Scriptures, nor was in use among the Apostles.

It is also to be noted that himself was then lawful, no man of them speaks out the legality of that solemn swearing by Gods Name any more in Judicial proceedings, than in private communication and conversation. And

Though the Lord himself sheweth this once by himself, rather his own example (as the Bishop calls it) of swearing, was an example for us now to imitate, and was in no wise a confirming of that old heathenish ceremony of Oaths, or a practice legal unto his saints for ever (as the Bishop would have us believe it was, and that his Oath, which ended in Christ, in whom all his promises confirm'd by Oath, were yea, and in him Amen, was also to end all strife between him and men, and to put an end to all strife, and Oaths also, that are among men and strife, is counted in our Books, (see our Antidote more, &c.) which is the Bishop's own function to thereby done, disproves the Truth of, stands still on our parts unshaken by him.

Christians prevail'd in the Empire. Whence that name Sacrament came to be apply'd to Christian Mysteries, whence his proof of the warrantableness of such oaths of Oaths by oaths, and of such swearings of Oaths Christians from whom they were extracted in Courts of Judicature, from either old or new Testament, or in order to Judicial proceedings? among all the reasons which he brings together, and sheweth upon another, out of the Old Testament, p. 36. 37. in proof of what he deny not, (viz.) that swearing by God himself was then lawful, no man of them speaks out the legality of that solemn swearing by Gods Name any more in Judicial proceedings, than in private communication and conversation. And for what he alleges out of the New Testament, p. 37. 38. 39. from the example of Gods * Angels, Pauls, Angels, Saints, &c. If any of them that would prove swearing lawful for us now, as we have shew'd heretofore in our Books it is impossible cannot for the reasons therein sufficiently rendered, or if those words of Christ, Amen, Amen, Verily, Verily, were an Oath (as the Bishop would have us ad them (if possibly he could) under that denomination by his Marginal citation of Capellus his words out of Job, *Jobah [sic] In veritate forma Juramenti apud Iudeos*; though he says no more on his own head, but that it is next to agree to swearing;.) And if that of Paul charging Timothy, and calling God to witness, saying, *Before God I live not, and die not*, if any of them were either an Oath, or adjuration, swearing, or excommunication, (as by reasons that remain to be

answerable,

as they are answered by the Bishop, render-
 ing by this the Books above said, it is pray'd they cannot be) yet
 as they shall say, those examples then would either, we prove
 the lawfulness of swearing, or, frequently, needfully, and so
 usually, in Letters, as well as by word of mouth, in that common com-
 munication, and private conversation, which Christians have each
 with other, in which kind of familiar intercourse Paul uses those
 oaths and adjurations (as the Bish. call them) and not in Courts, and
 that without need, and so in vain, since unrequired by Magistrates,
 and also among such as would take his word without swearing, and
 do what he required without assuring, or those that shall say they
 prove an example the lawfulness of swearing in Courts of Judica-
 ture before Magistrates in Judicial proceedings, will be found diplo-
 matic and doing to far besides all sense and reason, that

Nescio an Antiquum Ratio illa desineat avocari.

And as much strangers to all learning as the Bish. says the Quakers
 are, and truly 'tis not much of that perishing thing he calls Learn-
 ing (what e're we have had) that we now pretend to, or care much
 for, single honesty, integrity, and uprightness, being of more worth,
 worth, and valiant to salvation in the day of God, than all that
 inferior Lustration of those who drink to drunkenness, and strive
 to get from the Golden Cup of their own carnal counsels and
 convictions) yet the Quakers would be so deeply beset, as not to
 see need for ease, if they were not able to see the nonsensical
 folly, that demonstrates themselves from such an ineffec-
 tual piece of justification and demonstration as that above said. Yes,
 this would not onely demonstrate Paul to have been a common, or-
 dinary, needless swearer in his familiar communication with the Saints
 he wrote to, utterly uncalled to it by any Magistrates, but also de-
 monstrate the Magistrates of these dayes, whom our Ecclesiastical
 men (call'd Ministers) mistake therein, to be rather Masters of men,
 than Ministers of true civil Justice, that will take the Quakers words
 in their Courts neither with, nor without an Oath, so but that they
 shall be punish'd by them for not swearing, not onely when they do
 not swear, but when they do swear also: For (as hath been) though
 all these phrases of *Cursus* and *Paul*, are (as the Bishop says) Oaths,
 and none of them, which (as occasion is) they are not as free to
 use (not as impos'd by men, tying them at their wills to any one
 of them, but as mov'd to any one of them, as the Lord gives us

and the power of the true; but as the day breaks, the shadow vanishes,
 the figure flies away; and the naked truth it self of them stands only
 in the sun, under Christ now. Howbeit I undervalue not the Law,
 for as to that in the retoo, as being in worth infinitely above them;
 we shall see how Fabler, which were but fancies, had some moral or
 civil in them, the shewing of which they pointed at; so
 much more had all Moses his outward forms and figures, some ma-
 terial, some actual, more Evangelical, spiritual, and eternal Truth,
 and some things, which they were but the shadows, shews and figures
 of; and as the ceremoniality of the service of praying and pray-
 ing, was: the offering of Incense, and Sacrifice, singing, &c.
 and other formal superfluities, which then attended those services,
 but the substance it self is the lifting up of the heart to the Lord,
 in sigh and groan, from the movings of his own pure Spirit, and
 singing, and making melody in the heart to the Lord under the Go-
 spel, in which time the offering up of sweet incense, and other Sa-
 crifices, would be but the offering of Sinner's blood; And the sub-
 stance of circumcison is that of the heart, Rom. 2, which being
 come by in Christ, the other is but the concision, Phil. 3. And Christ
 the Passover in the substance, in respect of whom the other killing
 of a Lamb, once in force, is but the cutting off a Dogs neck; So
 the substance of that ceremony of Swearing that now abides (as the
 Bishop himself confesses) is no other than what we are free to, viz.
 the testifying the known truth from the heart, with an addition of
 no more then (as occasion may require it) some kind of attestation
 of God, who is Witness of all we say or do; and that no more than
 profession or denial by yea and nay, with onely some attestation, or
 testimony, to strengthen the affirmation (which is no Oath,
 as shewed above) is that standing substance that answers to that
 ceremony, ceremoniality may of Swearing in us, under the Law, is most
 evident by the Apostle Paul's rendering of that term Swearing, as
 is spoken of in way of prophesie concerning its continuance then,
 as Isa. 45. 25. To me every tongue shall swear, under that term of con-
 fessing onely under the Gospel, Rom. 14. 11. Every knee shall bow,
 and every tongue shall confess to God: confession under the Gospel, is
 made equivalent with an oath under the Law.
 And because the Bishop mentions the third Commandment in
 proof, of the morality and perpetuity of all that Swearing that was
 commanded under the Law, without annulling any title of it, as if
 he judg'd every Letter and Title of the ten Commandments were
 moral,

and so in all respects unchangeable, and acceptable of God
 justification by Christ's coming; He much longer himself in the
 plain imagination for all things in those remembrance, if in the full
 table of them) are not so moral or perpetual; without some
 necessity and subjection to alteration by Christ's coming, or the
 and if he had but remitted the very Jewish commandments that
 next to it, he would have remembered that, Remission to keep
 the Sabbath-day, which then was the very seventh day of the week,
 which God had sanctified, was but a sign, type, shadow, figure and
 ceremony of the seventh day of the world's rest from its labour, and
 of keeping after it under Christ an everlasting Sabbath to the End,
 by man's cessation from his own works, as God did from his, *Heb. 4.*
Heb. 4. which Jewish observation of the seventh day, as a Sabbath
 now, who so attends to, never so solemnly; (though once sanctified
 and commanded to be kept) will have as much acceptance with
 God (that is none at all) as he that never so solemnly follows by the
 Name of God in such ceremonious ways, as the Jews did of old, or
 goes beyond the bounds of bare observation, with addition, which
 to do, we not only think, (as the Bish. says of us, p. 22.) but
 know to be an old Judaick superfluity, now circumcised, and by Christ
 precisely cut off from the lips of Christians.

Besides, how that third commandment can be so immediately and
 peculiarly made use of, as by the Bish. and the Priests: it is in proof
 of the morality of Oaths, or in proof of the legitimacy of them, upon
 any, whether Moral, Political, or Ceremonial occasions either, more
 than other places, which more directly and expressly (as *Deut. 5. 2.*)
 by way of precept command to swear by God's Name, as if that were
 the most capital and Cardinal Text, we do not see, (save only that
 the Priests have infused that notion of Moral into people's
 minds concerning all those ten words wrote with God's finger, mer-
 ly as a figure of what he writes by his Spirit in men's hearts, *1 Cor.*
2. as if those were only Moral, and all Moses' writings by God's
 own appointment, had nothing in them but Ceremonial, or Politi-
 cal beside them; and as if there were no morality in all Moses'
 Law, but in them) for it's clear to all that the blind, and other
 blind leaders, that there's Morality elsewhere, and Ceremonial, and
 Political, or Judicial commands there, as well as in other parts
 of Moses' Law, among which Ceremonial and political, that of
 Oaths to end controversies, while that Name was standing, was

the way among the Ym that afford Brife) being a part, however
it may come to fulfil the Law (Moral) yet he coming in the way of
the Law (as the Bish. says) to abrogate the Ceremonial, yea and
the Law (as the Bish. says) it must necessarily follow he hath abrogated all
the forfeiture, which the Bish. cannot deny to be pertaining
to the forfeiture or so, that's nothing to our Christianity) to the
Truth Entry in Church and State.

And as for those words, *Thou shalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain*, they rather forbid all, than command any following, if the Bish. words be true (as they are) who say, a true Christian Oath is needless, his word being as firm as it, p. 44. and an evil mans Oath worthy of no more credit than a Liar, p. 17. Since upon that account, whoever swears by the Name of God, speaks in vain, and to no purpose, whether he be a true man, or one deceitful, his word amounting to as much as his Oath, for *frustra fit per plura quod potest fieri per pauciora*. And so whereas the Bish. say, there is no danger of doing hurt to our own consciences, any more in Oaths, than in serious affirmations and negations, We say there is, in swearing indelicately by God's Name, be (as it is) a taking Gods Name in vain, for the Lord will not hold him guiltless who taketh his Name in vain.

Moreover, whether the *Bish.* who insists so much upon the necessity of the command for swearing under the Law, and so consequently for the perpetuity of it under the Gospel, doth not in effect quit and desert from that kind of Bless for Judicial Swearing, or his own accord, we appeal to discerning men, whilst p. 23. he pleads the necessity of such solemn Swearing, upon no other account than as in order to cure many Christians (good Christians the while) of ill disorders; jealousies, distrusts, dissimulations, frauds, uncharitableness, unwise factions, insinuations, for (saith he, quoting Gratius in his Mar-
ginal) "Judicial Swearing" necessary, not absolutely and morally, or preceptively (as the School-men note well) but by way of consequence and remedy, as good new Laws are necessary for the cure or cure of new Evils in in Politics and Kingdoms.

Effect of Christians (truly such) we should need no Swearing in
publike

* *Iuramentum non aliter
quam medicamentum urgens
necessitate usurpandum; non
alio modo iuratur nisi
ad subvertendum defectum
levis hominum et im-
pugnabilem diffidenciam gra-
vis cui remedium quatuor
est iure iuranda.*

publick or private, but as men weak and unworthy, we cannot do without such Oaths to end controversies, and to secure as much as we can to the great proceedings of Justice; (saying then, he says Oaths stands not as a necessary precept, but as a necessary remedy; See whether the Bishop do not here with his own hands take that course of *swearing* off from the file of the Gospel; which he could not do if it were a moral precept (for than *secundum se*, what is Moral being Evangelical, it must abide unabridged under the Gospel); and put it upon the score of the Law only, which being added only because of transgression, must end in Christ; and under the Gospel, by whom the strife and all transgression is ended, as is to be shewed more at large by and by.

So that whereas he says thus; *Swearing* is a part of that Moral Law, which Christ finally tells, he came not; nor ever intended to abolish, but maintain; He may as well say, Christ came not, nor ever intended by his coming to abolish strife and transgression, which is the end of Oaths; for if he came to finish transgression, and make an end of sin among his people, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, then to end Oaths also among his disciples, which stand for no other end then to end strife, while and where it stands; for *Aliter aliquo fine, (de jure) cessat medium tendens ad istum finem*.

Finally, in that he says, Christ maintains Oaths, so far as the love of God, and our neighbour are great accomplishments of all Laws, to both which religious swearing is most conform; Herein he supposeth to contradict not only the Truth; but himself also, who says Swearing is to be no where; but where strife is, which is a work of the flesh, inconsistent with true love to the neighbour, and not conform to it; for love fulfills the Law, works no ill to the neighbour, ends all strife, and so puts swearing (the means to end strife) out of place and date.

4. The Bishop said Information according to the state of the Question, ought to be of the legality of judicial swearing in the Church of Christ among true Christians, and Christ's Disciples (so called) who are not under the Law, that came by Moses; but under the grace and truth of the Gospel, that came by Jesus Christ; otherwise he reaches not at all *ad rem substratam*, comes not due to the case in question, between himself and the Quakers, whom he would convince; who grant the lawfulness of Oaths of old among the Jews: What the Bishop says p. 21, he supposes is true enough.

that it is so clear even to the *stupid* and most scrupulous among the *Quakers*; that they do not doubt of the lawfulness of swearing lawfully among the *Jews*; not only as permitted, but commanded; but that *Quakers* themselves have this evidence to say (which all men will be ready to grant) and also to shew the impossibility of *Quakers* to them, which himself says the primitive *Christians* and *Disciples* of had; viz. *Christians* saying, *We* *are* *Christians*; to the freedom of them from *exaltation*; and himself without any more ado, and further troubling himself toward their conviction; for the *Question* is not concerning the lawfulness, or necessity of *Oaths* to bind *peoples* among *Christians*; but concerning people that live, and yet live in *strife*, and other works of the flesh; and so not under the *restraining* and *power* of that Gospel of the grace of God that leads out of *strife*; and all other ungodliness and worldly lusts; but under the power of that evil spirit in them that lusts to enjoy *strife*, hatred, envy, deceit, and every other evil; and so under the law, which hath dominion over a man so long as the old man with his deeds dwell in him; and he lies yet in his trespasses and sins; how far forth *Judicial* swearing may be of a legal, necessary use among evil, unconfessed, ungodly men, that make no conscience of any thing; swallow every thing, and strive at nothing; to require them to speak the truth, is not our business to contest with any about; we are willing to let them alone to live; nor need we dispute against the thing (if we be against it) since the Bishop, to the confuting of himself, who pleads for it, says thus much against it; to the invalidating his own plea for (at least) that asserted necessity of it; viz. That no more credit can be given, than to a Liar; or a Profane person that fears not God; though he swear never so solemnly in *Judicial* proceedings; which if so, then, what use, need or necessity there is of those men *Oaths* in *Judicial* proceedings, whose most *just* swearing, even there, is of no credit; and nothing more. If we see none, nor any else whose eyes are open, let the Bishop seem to himself to see what he pleases. Yet for quietness sake, to avoid all jangling about *juramentum*; let us be they let us alone to live peaceably out of *strife*, in truth itself, and to beyond that so necessary medium (as they count it) of *Oaths*, and from whom men need no more; when we are called to give our witness, then the very veracity of our *honest* words, since *Christians* *swear*, we can freely leave them to *swear*, and exalt, and take *Oaths*, as much as they will, who can't believe one

D

another

another out of a mutual dislike, that they are all Jews; and yet
can give credit one to another, no more than to a Jew either,
though swearing never so solemnly in Judicial proceedings, as be-
lieving (either by a Jewish or Jewish) among the Jews, as
Christians, but among them a mutual and strict, (whether they
judge one another worthy to be believed by each other, when they
swear, yea or no, that's little to us let those men who are will-
ing to make use of Oaths to end them if they will, or can we should
be glad to let all men swear, and be sworn to, as it is our duty
to do with all, within that measure which is in the Neighbor-
hood, but before all things, and before all things, and so earnest beyond
strictness and Oaths this.

But if they cannot, they may swear for us, in Courts and Ju-
dicials, as they ought not to make swearing of us, so we should
not (were it in our power) force them to a far dearer of in-
cense, in order to end their strifes, against their (though yet
clouded and erring) Consciences.

May rather howbeit we own Oaths to be of no other than a
Jewish and Legal, and not of any immediate, Christian, or Evan-
gelical consideration; yet as to the whole world which yet in mis-
chief, and bands, though under some form or other of religio-
nity, still in strife, under the dominion of sin, and not of Grace, as the
Jews did, they may stand if they will for us, as they did under their
legal institutions, which were added because of their unrighteousness,
and in order to withdraw strifes, for if the Law in any of the
condemners of it, be yet remaining in any sin; power or bondage, it is
among those that are not yet come out of sin and slavery to the
everlasting righteousness and truth of the Gospel, which Christ who
put an end to sin, brings in among his Disciples, who seek the
Kingdom, and the Righteousness of God, but not among the Jews
that obtain by participation of Christ's death, as Paul, and others
testify, to a dominion over sin, and deliver the slaves for whom sin had
not dominion over men (as we had before): these men are no more
under the Law, but under Grace, Rom. 6. 14. such over whom the
Law had dominion while they lived; and were under its bondage, and un-
der the prevalent workings of the unrighteousness in their members,
to bring forth the evil fruits of selfishness, and envy, and
and bondage, are then delivered from the Law, being dead to it, in
which they were once bound, they bring forth fruits of the Spirit and
God,

God, says, *persecutors, oppressors, haters, strife, and for us*
the witness of the Spirit, and not in that legal sense of the Letter,
namely, whereas these walk; who, notwithstanding all their pro-
fession of Religion and Christianity, are worthy, yet sin and deserve one
another, still at last they be consumed, one of another with their
hires, debts, sinne swearing and strife for all their Oaths, yea Gals.
3. 23. if men be led by the Spirit, they are not under the Law; and
those that bring forth the fruits of the Spirit, are against such carnal
insects. So though the Law is good, if men could tell how to use
it lawfully, yet we know (as Paul did, 1 Tim. 1. 8.) that the
Law is made for a righteous man, but for the faithless and disobe-
dient, for the ungodly, and for sinners, for rebels and prophane, for mur-
ders of fathers and mothers, blasphemers, whoremongers, and those that
defile themselves for men's beads, for liars, for perjured persons, and
every other thing that is contrary unto the second Doctrine of the glorious Gos-
pel of the blessed God, which is witnessed among the Quakers to be
the power of God, to the salvation of them from those unrighteous-
nesses, for whom therefore, neither the Law, nor the works and
ceremonies provided in it (as remedies against mens diseases) is justly ap-
plicable, or to be imposed, &c. 2d. that which led to this third point.
Now the Bishop is all besides, he has upon the standing dis-
pute besides the Question, and makes it his own desire to prove the
necessity, use of Oaths, either among the Jews, among whom the
Quakers deny it not to have been lawful; to which purpose he
troubles himself, to no purpose (because without need) p. 21. to
prove them professed necessarily of old among the Jews, or else, if
not, then among evidence mainly, if not only, who are in strife and
war among themselves, which where they are, there is lying,
swearing, prophane oaths, for swearing, robbing, cheating, defaming,
defending, confusion, and every evil work, and there we meddle lit-
tles to persuade men to one thing or other about swearing, unless
the Light of God in their own hearts lead them out of their vain,
uncharitable lives, to the life and blessedness of Christ: some things a-
mong them may be better than some, but all they do, whether
swearing in their Courts, or serving in their Churches, must all once
come to judgment; for the sins and sacrifices of such are both alike,
being both in opposition to the Lord's will, &c.

Here the Bishop might have let the Quakers alone (if he had
 plead) to whom it's much at one what they see unchristian men

doing in that particular of *Oaths*, who (for ought we see by the Bishop's words) whether *swearing* or *not swearing*, are not counted worth being believed one by another: But the Body of his Discourses runs that way, to evince the necessity of *Oaths* from the wickedness of men in hearts and manners, who are call'd *Christians*, in which case indeed the Law condescended far in matter of *Divorce*, and other points, to indulge the *Jews*; and how far forth we will condescend to him in that case of the hardness of *Christian hearts* (not truly such) to let things be so, as they scarce ought to be; and were not from the beginning, he shall see; and by.

But as for the proof of the necessity, usefulness or necessity of them among true *Christians* indeed, that not only name *Christ's Name*, but (as every one ought to do that names it) depart from iniquity, and are found in his *Nature* and *Image*, and that do not only call him *Lord, Lord*, (for he hath too many such Disciples, unless they *earn* of him) but also do the things that he says: the Bishop brings his proof of the usefulness, but rather of the necessity of *Oaths* amongst them; yea some would scarce discern on a sudden whether his Arguments for the usefulness of *Oaths* among false *Christians*, or his Arguments for the necessity of them among such true *Christians*, as will be found among the *Quakers*, be of the one or the most forcible; but we having had good occasion to make serious perusal of his Book, by several passages, whereby he often trips up his own heels soe fast as he runs, and backs one of his legs against the other, we do find more strength by far in what the Bish. himself says against a true *Christian*; than in what he says for any false *Christians* most solemn swearing.

And to this end that it may be seen, let it be considered what is the main bottom on which he builds, & the Mediums from which he concludes a necessity of swearing among men, & especially call'd by the Name of *Christians*, and we shall find yet this, to wit the abundance of wickedness that is among them; Thus p. 23, the evils of men in hearts and manners, the jealousies and distrusts, the dissimulations and fraud of many *Christians*, their uncharitable words, unsatisfactions and injuries are such, as by their Diseases do make these applications of solemn *Oaths*, and judicial swearings necessary: Now absolutely and morally, or preceptively (as the School-men were wont) but by way of consequence and remedy, as good new Laws are for the cure and cure of new evils in Politics and Kingdoms; as men weak and towne

thy,

By, we cannot well be without such Oaths to end the controversies, and to secure (as much as man can do) the exact proceedings of Justice.

But when he speaks of *ne* necessity, but a needlessness of true Christians (swearing the Medium he uses to prove that, is no other than this (to wit) their being (truly Christians) in the last same page and place, Possibly (saith he) as Christians (truly such) we should need no swearing in publick or private.

So also p. 36. he says the foundation for swearing now, is the wickedness of men: Polybius (saith he) observes that in the better and simpler Ages of the World, Oaths were seldom used in Judicatures, but after that perfidy and lying increased, Oaths increased, as the only remedy to restrain those mischiefs, &c.

Ratio apud veteres Jurandi usus in Judiciis sed etiam in privatis etiam in rebus.

So p. 41, 42. speaking of true primitive Christians (as before we have more at large trans-printed his words, p. 11 whither we refer the Reader back again) he saies they were so strict and exact, &c. that there was no need of an Oath among them; for they so kept up the sanctity and credit of their profession among unbelievers, that it was security enough in all cases to say, *Christianus sum, I am a Christian*. If any urged them further to any Oath for matter of manner, or Authority unlawful, they repeated this as the only satisfaction they could give, There needed no more than the veracity of their bare word, they thought it not lawful for them in such cases to swear. And then naming many famous men for antiquity and sobriety, of sundry sorts, as the Essains, wise Heathens, and Christian Fathers, and of their sayings, he still drives on for a whole page together the same subject, viz. how dishonourable and needless a thing it was for good and holy men, and true Christians, to be so much as once required to swear, seeing their Profession and Reputation was test enough to their words, and was diminution to their reputation to be put to swear, & *Indignum viro sanctimonix sine Juramento non credere*, an unworthy thing not to believe an holy man without an Oath; & *Flamini Doali Jurare nefas*, no less than wickedness for one that was counted such a one, to swear; & *non oportet ut vir qui Evangelice vivit, Juret omnino*, it's not meet that a man who lives according to the Gospel, should swear, and the Fathers frequently inveighed without any limitation against Christians swearing, some saying, *Evangelica veritas non recipit Juramentum*, the Gospel-truth admits not of an Oath.

Oath. And p. 43. speaking of *Basilides the Martyr*, who when Officers exacted an Oath of him, replied, *It is not lawful for me being a Christian, to swear at all; and if other Christians did swear in such like cases, yet the Bishops of the Church were not put to swear; whereupon Basilides a Bishop pleaded his privilege of exemption from it, from the sanctity of his life, that being sufficient assurance for his truth.*

All this the Bishop himself alledges (so that what need we bring any further witness against good men swearing, *fit all men may read to much out of his own Book*) in evidence of the unworthiness of that course of exacting Oaths of chief Priests, The wickedness of their Swearing, The indignity done to the reputation of a good man, a man of integrity to be put to swear, and of a man of honor, which is a caution sufficient for his honesty, so that he will rather suffer a death, than save it by swearing; the uselessness, needlessness, Yet plain unthankfulness for a Christian that *(truly) swears*; The foolishness, exactness, holiness and sanctity of whose profession needs no Oath in either asserting or promising; The frequent invectives of the chief ancient Fathers, *Origen, Chrysost. Theophil. Oecum. Hila. Arban. Hier. Theod. Lactant.* without any limitation or reserve against Christians swearing. And lastly, that security enough that is all cases, whereon a man is mistrusted, for him to be capable to say truly of himself, *I am a Christian*: Which all are Arguments of weight and force, so sufficiently cogent, and clearly convincing to our Consciences, that if we had no more, we should need no more to justify us of the *inherent ableness* of swearing, or of exacting Oaths among such as are truly Christians.

But as for what the *Bish.* argues in evidence of a usefulness and necessity of swearing among such Christians *

* If yet there be any such as are Christians in the world, (as we do not know that there are) yea (*absit absurdum*) let it never be said now, that *elsewhere* Christians that name Christ's Name, and name themselves after it, and yet depart not from such iniquities as those.

the evils of whose hearts and manners, jealousies, distrusts, dissimulation, frauds, uncharitableness, as diseases, do make solemn oaths necessary (not absolutely, morally, or preceptively) but by way of consequence and remedy, for the curb and cure of their evils, and who are so rude and ignorant as Horses and Mules, that their mouths must be held with

Oaths (as with bit and bridle) lest they fall upon one another with

hoy,

his false witness, injuries, thefts, rapes, murders, cheating, and all manner of unrighteousnesses, there is so much seeming shew of reason in that, so satisfies himself, and many more it like at least; and as for us, it so be that we Quakers who speak the truth from our hearts, and dare not lyd as all God's People also will not, whose Justice, Integrity, and desires to live a peaceable and quiet life, make all Governments, and among all men, in all godliness and honesty, and to give our Testimony in all cases, as we be call'd to bear witness to the truth, in all truth, sincerity, and integrity, as in the sight of God, without those evil influences, dissimulation, and frauds in our hearts; we say, if we may not be imposed upon under penalties to swear against them, who cannot so much as speak against our Conscience, we shall not so much trouble our selves as to enter into such controversies; much less dispute about the other. But we are willing to divide the business between the Quakers and other Christians (so call'd) as to meet the Bish. half way in the Controversy in order to an agreement with him upon his own terms, and we are content to agree with him in his consequences out of Polity for the use of our hearts to curb evil-minded, and evil-manner'd men from lying and false witness-bearing, the necessary use of which among such he concluded from the excess of sin, iniquity and deceit that is among them, whilst he agrees with us (as in his words above-cited he doth) in our consequence, which is not ours only, but also that of the ancient Fathers, wise of Heathens, and primitive Christians, and even his own self for the usefulness, quietness, and unlawfulness of making and taking oaths among wise, just, honest, good, faithful, righteous, holy men drawn from the diminution and destruction of that iniquity and deceit which dwells in others, and once dwelt in them, and they in it.

And so he agrees with us when we argue from Polity thus; Among the good, honest, just, righteous, faithful, holy Saints of God, and true Christians (if there be any such in the world, as such there are, and they are well known, though unknown.) Oaths need not be used; yea, are unworthy, wicked, unchristian, vain, superfluous, and sinful to be used; it being security enough in all cases for a man (truly such) to say, I am a Christian, I for Rotas and veteris jurisjurandi usum in judiciis abeunte perfidia, abis jurisjurandi usum. In the better and simpler ages of the world Oaths were seldom

used

used in Judicature: where no perfidiousness is found, there's no place found for the use of Oaths.

So we agree with him in his consequence from Polythymus, Gresson, *repudicia crevit iurandi usus*: where there's an increase of wickedness, by iniquity, deceit, &c. there that counterfeits use of Oaths increaseth; where Christian mens hearts and manners are full of dissimulation, there (not absolutely morally, nor preceptually) the Bish. with the Schoolmen (against himself) well notes, two by way of consequence and remedy to curb and cure that disease of dissimulation and deceit (when othe: wise possibly if they were Christians (truly such) they should need none in publick or private) the application of solemn Oaths is necessary: and so as contrarietatem similit, *in contraria est ratio*, so decrease of perfidia decreaseth, but increase of perfidia, crevisse iurandi usum: Where there's a decrease and dying out of sin, as there is among the Quakers, there's (de jure) a due decrease, and dying out of the use of Oaths; but where sin, perfidiousness and deceit abound and increase, there possibly might be some place for the use of Oaths to make men that are not true that have not the fear of God, and would else be liars, speak the truth: We could afford to yield thus far to the Bishops plea for an usefulness of Oaths then, were it not for *our* Rub. which the Bish. lays in his own way, and *ours* too, which stumble us, and is a Gnar, at which we cannot but strein; though such as can swallow Canons, and can connive at their own contradictions, strein little at it; and that's the Cross-whet, which he gives to this consequence of his, for the necessity of Oaths among false Christians, from the consideration of their prophaneness, dissimulations, frauds, evil hearts, by his representation of the uncreditableness and invalidity of their most solemn Oaths, who are common swearers, and prophane persons that fear not God; witness his own words again, p. 17. Nor can much credit be given (any more then to a liar) to any man that swears upon solemnly, and in Judicature, who is a common swearer, and lacks reverence of the Majesty of God. For by this he is so absolutely hooked the neck of his own consequence, that we cannot so easily cleave with it, as else we could do.

Nevertheless that we be not further troublesome to the Bish. than needs must, nor seem so pragmatike as he would represent us to be, nor to be such Base-bodies in other mens matters, manners, conversations and consciences, but purely and singly to mind the keeping

either before God of our own self meddling with a strife that re-
 quires no more (as the case of others being impos'd upon in the point
 of Oaths does not half so much, as the exaction of them from our
 selves) we be found (as Wisdom sayes such one is like to him that
 taketh a dog by the ears; nor to remove the heavy stones of such long
 standing; as those Impositions of Oaths are, from off the Conscien-
 ces of any that are not burden'd with them; but onely from our
 own, that we; We are pretty well content to part stripes with the
 Bitch in the Controversie; and as he sayes of himself and his sort of
 Christians, viz. As Christians of evil hearts & manners full of dissimu-
 lation and fraud, abounding in iniquity, ever causing in persecution; un-
 charitableness; distrusts, jealousies, unsatisfactions, insensitiveness; As weak
 and unworthy to be trusted, they cannot be without Oaths, but Oaths
 are necessary (not absolutely, nor morally or preceptively, but as a
 remedy against those Diseases; when yet possibly, were they Christi-
 ans (truly such) they would need no swearing in publique or private:
 So we say of our selves, and those true Christians call'd Quakers, as
 Christians (truly such) in whom is no iniquity, guile, fraud, dissimu-
 lation, deceit; who walk in truth; our of strife, who can say in
 truth, We are Christians indeed, not wearing raiment of sack and gawds,
 which is security enough in all cases; we need no Oaths to be believ'd
 in, or impos'd upon us: But this being that Judas and discen-
 ners that hypocritical Pharisees and Christians (not truly such) but
 so in Name onely, not in Nature, fall into; that we see that they
 are fallen into begets a necessity of another, one inconvenience and
 mischief subjects unavoidably to another, as positive and absolute se-
 paration millia, Such being yet under the bondage of their own cor-
 ruptions and lying dead in their trespasses and sins; putteth thereby up-
 on themselves a number of cumbersome remedies, which are oft as
 much the diseases; but as best needful if the diseases were more; And
 thus God's Law is added as a task to the lawless sinners, not transgress-
 ing, and are so bound to bring to Christ; He that endoweth his
 people with his self. And I wish Christians living in all sincerity,
 without any thing; false, feign, or craft; without any thing; vain, bo-
 rous, malice, envy and strife, the heavy yoke, bondage and thralldom of
 this Law and Conscience, broken of Power, and without Power to
 put upon them, to keep them in peace and honesty, till they come
 to know and be led by that Spirit of him in themselves, who onely
 can deliver them from the law of sin and death, which they yet
 know

yet know not, there we say with the *Bish. Oaths* (as, *de facto*, they are *Jo, de jure*, might be used at least, if *credit* could be given any more than to *lyars*, to such *Christians* solemn swearing, for *pejora causa ponitur effectus*:

And so if the *Church of England* be not a *Church of Christians* (truly such) (as the *Bish.* seems to intimate by his own words it is not) we have the less to say to them as concerning their swearing, they have a liberty for us (and they would have so much the less to answer for, in the day when God takes a final account of them, if they would let us have the same liberty from them to decline it, rather than force men to sin against their Conscience) to swear, as they do, and as much as they will, and that not only solemnly, but prophane, since none of their own Laws against that can reclaim nor restrain them from it; for while men are yet the servants of sin, as *Christians* (not truly such) are (as much, if not more than *Heathens* so called) they are free from that nightousness that *Christ* requires of his, which is that of the Gospel, which far exceeds that of the Law, and all legal chief Priests, Scribes and Pharisees: But such *Christians* as are by *Christ* made free from sin, as the *Quakers* are, (though once as well as others under the power and dominion of it) these are bound as for duty to that perfect righteousness of the Gospel, which, as that of the Law, to the natural deceitful, contentious Jew, was forswearing, but perform thy Oaths to God, if thou make Oaths to end strife and controversy, it, to the true spiritual Jew or Israelite, in whose heart it is as gails, even to *Christ's* Disciples, *ye shall not go in law, nor with bands, nor with titles* (as *Jo* 10. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 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And if *England* ever come to be a *Church* constituted of such *Christians*; as are truly such, as the *primitive Christians* were, and as the *Quakers* are, who by the *Light* are led out of strife, into the love that casts out all fears and jealousies, and works in all the *Neighbour*, we shall expect (as *God* does) another manner, and other fruits than the *Jo* swearing, and forcing each other to swear, in pain of *Ruin*, and we shall not need to clear our selves of that which they call our crime of not swearing, for the *Light* of *Christ* will lead all that follow it, into the same, and so as *pejora causa ponitur*, for *salutis causa* it shall be effecting, *Jo* and *Deum* standing *Quakers* (though to this purpose, where solemn swearing is being, *Jo* *pejora causa* is also, are no more to be believed than *Jo*) but

where sin, deceit and strife cease; there swearing hath no use nor place: And so the Bish. doth confess while he says p. 23. The European desire and aim of these Quakers is not to be found fault with if it were feasible. And feasible we say it is, if perfection so far as to freedom from sin, deceit, hatred, malice and strife is attainable. And that that is attainable in the body, even in this very humane nature, if the Light of Christ, which is that of the Gospel, be attended to, what need we prove it against our Adversaries in that point, when the Bishop confesses out to our hands? And that he so does; let him take his own words at large as they lye, p. 27, 28. where speaking of the design of Christs Sermon Matth. 5. and how the righteousness be calls to, must exceed that of Scribes and Pharisees. He says,

Our Saviour gives many singular Lessons or Precepts of more eminent diligence, patience, charity, mortification, self-denial, sincerity, consistency, perseverance, and perfection of obedience, required

under the Gospel, above (mark) what

either the Letter of the Mosaical Law

seemed to exact, or by the Pharisaical in-

terpretations were taught to the Jews; and

however by Divine Indulgence and con-

tinuance, or by the hardness and uncharitable-

ness of their own hearts, and the custom-

ary depravedness of times and manners, they

ought seem to have some temporary dis-

penation heretofore granted to them, or

at least to take it to themselves; yet now

under the Evangelical strictness to which

Christ came to restore or raise the Church,

they might not fancy to themselves any such liberty, but were to keep

themselves in thought, look, desire, word, and deed, so that

the perfection of Moses

Law in the letter, was never

not vainly, nor by any crea-

ture, but by God only, for-

swear not (what ever the

Pharisees talk glosses allow-

ed) Therefore either Christ

must in the point of swearing

call them not to swear at all,

or else in that point he calls to

no higher perfection of obe-

dience, than the Letter of

the Mosaical Law did.

we throw away

we were to keep

themselves in thought, look, desire, word, and deed, so that

have all men saved that are willing sincerely so to be, and are not minding to themselves.

ably, The Bishops undertaken work of Instruction and Information of the Quakers, ought to be by way of confirmation and probation of what he speaks, as to the main point, not by way of position and affirmation only, nor by way of a Magisterial saying, or insolent strutting upon a numerous unlearned people, in an age of so much light and learning in those Mysteries of God, Christ, Godliness, and the Gospel, that are hid from the Scholastic, and revealed to the rude Rustick, or Rustic Rabbi. As they speak the flashy conceits, inough auncies, meer rudes, we will not say, in belayes of us, p. 8. what ere we think, but rather under a variety of shews of his own fancy, the Mine of Humane Fancies, not only melancholly and timorous, (saith the Bish, p. 11.) but pragmatic and adventurous; it is but an adulteration of Religion, and a kind of straying of Conscience: Both are injurious usurpations upon the Sovereignty of God, whose Scepter is infallible Truth. This the Bish. himself yields not cogent enough (though he be a Bish.) to convince, p. 25. thus:

It is not sufficient in order to my design (which is to justify the legal proceeding of the Kingdoms Justice by Oaths, and to satisfy the scruples of the Quakers) to oppose my Nay to their Yea, or to offer the husk and chaff of words, void of such Reasons as either flow from the nature of all things, and all actions, as good or evil morally, or from the Will of God revealed in the Scriptures; which is a Treasury of right Reasons, as well as a Rule of true Religion.

But now considering how much (as is shew'd above by his own words and others, whom he quotes concerning the needfulnes of true Christians, and the worthlessness of false Christians Oaths) the Bish. weakens his own words, and sides with us against himself, to the impugning in a manner of all that little that he doth say, for the most solemn swearing, we see not upon the most solemn, serious, sincere and single-eyed pursuit of his most Polemical matter, how he offers any more than the meer husk and chaff of changeable words, void of real proof, or any right drawn Reason from the nature of that action of swearing; or from the Scripture either, and renders his Nay, which (perhaps peradventure at least) were tantamount thereto, of far less credit (as inferior to him as we else are) to our Yea, which is alwayes Yea, while his is (as ours are not, and the

His words never were, 2 Cor. 1.) about now and the same thing, at
us and the same time, both Ten and Nay.

Whly. That proof the Bish. (de jure) should bring in order to
the informers of the Quakers, (if erring) and to the satisfaction
of their tender Consciences, ought to be no less than clearly and
infallibly, in it self at least, demonstrative of the lawfulness of Oaths
among Christians, without any palpably apparent just ground
of exception, and such onely as is capable to put the case to a clear,
as well as tender Conscience, out of question, and not to yeld no
more to the utmost, than some probable evidence to the Enquirer,
against which there may be, and is brought by him as clear, or
clearer evidence to the contrary; for this leaves consciences men
liable like children, even in the things of God, which are of such
great consequence, that he that doubteth is damned if he do them
(because they are not of Faith, of which whatever is not, is sin) to
be whiffed up and down, and tossed to and fro with every wind of Do-
ctrine, after the cunning craftiness of self-seeking men, who for their
own interests lye in wait to deceive, and ministers nothing but occasion
of endless janglings about questions and strifes of words, whereof
come the perverse disputings of the men of corrupt minds, that
know not godliness it self to be great gain, but suppose it godliness
enough to get great gain by their profession of it.

But now whereas we are along time before-hand with him in
this matter of account, concerning our gain-saying to swear at all,
being not onely in a plain, positive way proved the warrantableness
thereof from right Reason, and Scriptural demonstration in our
Books (which for ought we find he is more pleas'd to pass by,
than to take so much notice of, as to reply thereto) the Bi. under a
most specious and pre eminent pretence of answering the scruples of
the Quakers, and such a fair removing their difficulties, and justi-
fying of Oaths to be now lawful, as in case of not yielding their
charful obedience, shall leave them in sufferings without excuse be-
fore God and man, p. 20. comes forth at last p. 26. with no more
then I will endeavour to give those Reasons which induce me to believe
that the Quakers do err, not knowing, or not right understanding the
mind of Christ in those Scriptures, viz. Mat. 5. Jam. 5. which is not to
forbid all swearing, nor such as the just and Religious Law of Eng-
land do require, Which promised endeavour (not for want of our
ward prudence we believe, for he hath so much of that, as where-
by

by he stands not a little in his own light, and hinders his self from the plain sight of the plain simple truth, as it is in Jesus; but for want of furniture from the Scripture, such a barren cause as he pleads, not furnishing the most capacious brain from thence sufficiently towards its own maintenance; the Bishop performs as well as one, that, when his proof should be no less then demonstration; and that his demonstration à notioribus & certioribus conclusiones, proves Ignotum per aequè ignotum, dubium per magis dubium; or, incertum per incertum.

7ly. This scriptural demonstration must be out of the Scriptures of the New Testament, it being confessed by the Quakers, to the saving of all men that wonted labour of rumbling o're their Concordances to find and heap up testimonies out of the other, that in the Scriptures of Moses and the Prophets there are texts enough, no less then commanding the Jews to swear by the Name of God onely, as much as prohibiting them to swear by both it and Malcham, or ought else.

8ly. Any thing in the Books of the Quakers, or in those two Years, Math. 5. Jam. 5. to the contrary notwithstanding.

But the Bishop not seeming so much as to take cognizance of any of the Quakers books in particular, or of those particulars in them, that are of most moment in order to his end to be throwly replied to; though from other places hereof which give light to Mat. 5. & Jam. 5. he promises p. 26 such weighty, pregnant, and plain reasons as shal carry the Cause, and brings no more out of the New Testament (not because he was not capable to have found them, had they been there, but because they were not there to be found) no more in demonstration of the lawful use of Oaths among Christians in judicial proceedings, but the fore-nam'd places that speak of Christ's saying, Verily, verily, and of Paul's charging, protesting and calling God to witness, which we have o're, and o're, and o're again (being anew put to it) provd to be no oaths, nor adjurations; and the Angels swearing, Rev. 10. whose example the Bishop says indeed p. 39. justifies the lawfulness of some swearing; which we have shewed also, if it could be to any men, yet could not be to any President, who are under the Gospel of the Son that is greater then the Angels, by the dispensation of whom the Law for Oaths, Tithes, and many other legal Rites and Rnd ments was given; which Son also all the Angels of God are bid to worship. And lastly, that of Heb. 6. where

where the *Apostle* speaking of an *Oath* among men (not meddling there to shew (*de jure*) that it should be so among *Saints*, who as concerning *strife*, the occasion of *swearing*, and consequently concerning *swearing*, should not walk as men, 1 Cor. 2. 1, 2, 3.) says (*de facto* only) that it is an end of *strife*, not heeding that when men once in *strife* come once into *Christ*, and to be in him, are *Creatures*, *Christians*, and to walk no more as *carnal*, nor as men, but as *spiritual*, and as true *saints* and *Christians*; they come both out of *strife*, and out of *swearing*.

And as for those two *Texts*, *Mat. 5. Jam. 5.* to which the *Bish.* says, he would alledge other *Texts* that should give light; he might as well have said, he would light a *Candle* to see the *Sun* by; for they of themselves give such clear, undeniable evidence to the *Truth* that's maintained by us, and against the lawfulness of *swearing* among *Christians*; that as the bright shining of the *Sun* gives light to all the *Stars*, and causes them to shine out, and be seen in their proper lustre; so these two, to all other *Texts* in the *New-Testament*, which may be truly said from these, as from two *Cardinal* and *Capital* ones, to borrow all that evidence they have, whether one or other, as to this point: And the *Bish.* is so far from darkening the *Testimony* against all *swearing*, which in answer to others we have already held forth therefrom, that (save that p. 7. he passes in gross a gross censure upon our writings private or publick, as favouring of much silliness, never well catechised ignorance and folly) one would think he had never so much as seen any such matter, as any publick appearances of ours in that Cause, as from these two *Scriptures*; in so much that as the *Bish.* makes such quick dispatch in his business, that for haste he hath well-nigh left it all behind him. So we might without much prejudice to the Cause in controversy among some wise men, referring him to what's written, take as little notice of that little or nothing which is done by the *Bish.* in dispatch thereof, as he seems to take of our proofs from thence, about the unlawfulness of *swearing*. Nevertheless, because some are apt to judge that nothing can be said, if nothing be said, Something (and no more than needs) may be said to what notions the *Bishop* offers in proof of his conjectures and conceptions, why *Christ* and his *Apostles* words, *Matth. 5. Jam. 5.* are not intended as an absolute,

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useful prohibition of all forswearing, and so draw on to our Conclusion.

1. As preparative to the delivery of his sense upon the place, the Bishop, who makes a long Harvest of a little Corn, before he comes plainly and positively to speak but his mind in the Negative, as in opposition to us (as he does briefly in p. 35.) spends about 30 or above thirty pages in Preambles, long popular passages, and plausible pretences of sundry prudentials (as he calls them, p. 13.) that we must observe in searching the mind, and taking the true meaning of the Scripture; many things in some Scriptures being expressed darkly, metaphorically, figuratively, parabolically, comparatively, by way of allusions in metonymies, synecdoches, Ironies, hyperbolies, extraordinary commands in universalities, which are limited to the subject intended, &c. Left erroneous minds, like glasses of refraction or false mediums, pervert them from the simplicity, to their own distraction (as St. Peter speaks) it being endless (saith he) to number those places of Scripture, which have something or other in their meaning and design, more than the Letter seems to hold forth in the bare words of it. Which swelling sayings of the Bishop may have a show of Wisdom among an implicit-dish't people; but alas, all that sound is but like a cask full of emptiness, with the great noise whereof many that are ever learning, never knowing Truth, may be filled from more than stability in the Truth; neither hath it more plenty

* Compare Acts 4. with
* Pet. 3. for Peter was un-
learned in words, the Bishop
now calls learning.

of words, than little pertinency of matter, to the purpose; for if it should be so, (as the Bishop says it is) that innumerable Scriptures should speak one thing, and mean another, (which yet is little less than to make the Spirit in the Penman, who used all plainness of speech, like to such deceivers and seducers as those unlearned and unstable ones, which unlearned * Peter speaks of, that with the abundance of their Ambages and circumlocutions, lead people about, to the losing of them from the simplicity of Truth, in the Wilderness of their own Wisdom) must those Texts therefore be written to men, and needs mean some other thing than they express? And what if some Texts have so? must therefore these two have in them dark sayings, metaphors, figures, parables, comparisons, allusions, metonymies, synecdoches, hyperbolies, extraordinary commands, limited universalities, &c. Which both are so plain, that he must be either

not able, and not willing to see the *Sun* when it shines in his face, that
 see any such thing in them. Though then the *Bish.* to the *amaz-*
ing of their minds, leads men about in a *Wood of Wonders* for
 to many leaves together, that had his Discourse been a Sermon
 preach't on either of those *Karfeis*, by word of mouth, and printed by
 a *Glasse*, it would have run *own* before he had come at his *Text*, yet
 taking the counsel of him, who said, *Ne immittas pedem tuum in*
peritiam ubi non est spes, passing by the boundless *probabilities*
 and *superfluity* of *superstitious* fears of this and that danger of per-
 vering them to our destruction we shall come to the *Text*, which
 have enough in them to *clear* themselves, and *Christ's* meaning in
 them, without such a *deal* of *do's*, *say* we see *Divines* make about
Christ's *Doctrine*, which hath not so much difficulty in it, but that
 his *Disciples*, who *learn* of him, and are willing to be led by him in
ways to their *own* wills, into the doing of the whole will and *com-*
fort of God, may easily know it. And when we shall have *shed* off
 that *rough* growth *brake* and *chaff* of words, and left behind us all that
 heap of *light* grain that lies about it, we shall see that what he ur-
 ges immediately, as in proof of his conclusion, will not be forced
 to *count* in worth to the weight of one grain of such *Corn* as is fit
 to go into the *Garner*.

And indeed the *Bish.* says p. 17. If the Quakers will admit such
conditions and *limitations* as they do to other places, in the interpreting of
 these *Scriptures*, which they chiefly alledge to justify their denial of all
swearing whatever, I shall not doubt to reconcile them to my sense of
 them.

Ans. Which is as much as to say, if the Quakers will grant
 the *Scriptures* to have such *limitations* in them, as an exception of
 the *swearing* I plead for against them; (for that is my sense thereof,
 viz. that they forbid not all *swearing*, but some only) then, per-
 haps in *Principle* by a *begging* the *question* and desiring them to
 prove that my (wrong) sense is right, and their (right) sense
 may, I have gain'd the Cause. But for all his taking it of us, be-
 lieve we give him the cause, which is God's, and not ours to give
 away, we must tell the *Bish.* much what in his own words follow-
 ing, that whether we ever yield to his sense or no, and whether he
 ever command us for it or no, we have such due regard to the *Script-*

tures, that we are willing, as by a Rule of *Christians actions* in the case of *Oaths*, to stand to a trial of it by the *Scriptures*; but then those *Scriptures* which the *Bish.* beats so much about in a conference of *cautions* and *conceptions*, but scarce comes near, as if he were afraid too critically to examine them, or to enter within the bark or rind of the context, to find out *Christ's true intent* in the *Texts* themselves, must be duly examined; exactly weighed; & applied, to that *Standard of Truth*, which is the *Scriptures* themselves, and not any mens false glosses on them, in both *Morals* and *Fiducials*, which *Standard of Truth* admits of no strife among those that stand and walk uprightly according to it, and consequently of no *Oaths* in order to the ending of it. In order to a true examination of them, and a clear discovery how the *Bish.* falls short of the utmost of *Christ's purpose* in them; let them first be seriously read, as they stand (rightly enough) translated, for any thing the *Bish.* puts in to the contrary: The words of *Christ*, *Matth.* 5: 33, 34, 35, 36, 37. are these, *Ye have heard it hath been said by them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thy self, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine Oaths: But I say unto you, swear not at all, neither by Heaven, for it is Gods Throne, nor by Earth, for it is his footstool, neither by Jerusalem, for it is the City of the great King, neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black; But let your communication be yea, yea, nay, nay, for whatsoever is more than these, cometh of evil. And Jam. 5. thus: But above all things my Brethren, swear not, neither by Heaven, neither by Earth, neither by any other Oath, but let your yea be yea, and your nay nay, lest ye fall into condemnation.*

In these *Texts* the *Quakers* say, *All swearing is forbidden*; the *Bishop* says, *No, but some Oaths onely*: in evidence of the first, which is ours, we say several things, which the *Bishop* doth not deny, but confess to as fully well-nigh as we would desire him; and (such) which we judge he neither will, nor can deny. First, That the words are truly & exactly translated, 24. That the words are expressly unto the (to wit) or Letter of them, an absolute universal negative without any limitation, dispensation, or exception, pag. 25. 26. That at the first view they have a shew of our sense, or (to speak in no other then the *Bishops own words*, pag. 20.) both places seem at first sight plain black (as some Commentators observe) in such all manner of swearing among *Christians*; both have emphatical or

lowest words. 4ly. The first bath Christ's authority, reforming not only the Pharisaick corruptions of the times; but even the Mo-
saick indulgences, in some things; for the hardness of the Jews
hears. 5ly. That they are notable Texts, which seem to stand as
the Angel of the Lord against Balaam, with a sword in their hands to
stop the way of all swearing whatsoever. 6ly. They are agreed by all
to be a divine and strict prohibition of that sin of swearing. 7ly. Pla-
ces not so clear on the Bishop's part, but like the Pillar of fire
that gave Light to Israel (as clear to the contrary as they are
now, and cogent to our consciences) they are (as the same Pillar,
that was as a cloud to the Egyptians) by the Bishop's own confe-
ssion, both dark and dubious. All which grants of the Bishop (were
there no more at all to be said) are of weight enough upon the
bare reading thereof at random, to cast the scales for the Quakers
Chinle against the Bishop; how much more (if all he says be pre-
cisely and strictly weighed in the balance of the sanctuary, and truly
tried by the rule of right reason) will it be found too light to serve
his purpose against the Quakers.

1. We say the Texts are truly enough translated, as they are
above transcribed; nor doth the Bishop put in any exception a-
gainst it. Indeed H. Den with whom we have had very much to
do already, as to *Matth. 5.* makes an unjust exception against that
true translation of the word *swear* by [at all]; but the ground
of his exception being long since removed; we have no more to
do with him here, then with the Bishop in that particular.

2. As to *Jam. 5.* some except against that last clause, *ita ut unus
quisque iuramentum non faciat*, as not rightly translated nor Englished by [lest ye
fall into condemnation] affirming the Word *iuramentum* to signifie onely
affirmationem Judicandi actionem, the very act of judging, or deter-
mining of a thing, and not the punishment, or execution of the
sentence, as to the suffering of it. 2. That that clause *ita ut* signifies
not always [ne] [lest] but sometimes [nisi] i. e. [except] and so they
would have the Apostles meaning to be thus; Swear not by heaven,
earth, nor by any other Oath, &c. except it be when ye come before a
Judgement-seat, or except it be in order to the determination of a
matter in some Court of Judicature; so making the words exclusive
only of swearing by creatures in ordinary discourse, but not prohi-
bition of all swearing by the Name of God in cases of weight be-
fore Magistrates.

et, and ul; non, are two conjunctions, which when they are together in conjunction or composition, do naturally sound forth as much as or, or as non, lest that ye fall, or that ye may not fall into condemnation. And we are not without such a palpable necessity, as is not here found, to depart from the prime, proper, genuine and native signification of any words, into that which is improper and foreign.

(whatever any Poet might do) yet if we consult the sense, wherein the Apostle throughout the New Testament uses these phrases, we shall never find *iva m'*, put for *iar m'*, so as to signify *if, except*, but either *iva m'*, or *iar m'*, used all along, and never *iam m'*, to express *unless*, or *except*, as Mat. 5. 20. *iar m'*, &c. *unless*, or *except* your righteousness exceeds that of the Pharisees, &c. *ia m'*, &c. *except* for Fornication, Joh. 3. 35. *iar m' n'ra* *havad' d'vader*, &c. [*except*] *man be born from above*. Luk. 13. 3. 5. *ia m'*, &c. [*except*] *ye repent*, ye shall all likewise perish. And *iva m'*, where-ever it is used, is truly translated (as here) *ie, ut* *may, lest, lest that*, but never Englished by *unless*, or *except*, as Mat. 7. *ia m' n'ra n'ra* &c. *ia m' n'ra n'ra*, Judge not, lest ye be judged; Will any knowing man read that thus, *viz.* Judge not, *unless*, or *except* ye be judged?

So 1 Cor. 7. 5. *iva m' n' n'ra n'ra*, &c. Lest Satan tempt you for your incontinency, &c. So Heb. 3. 13. *iva m' n' n'ra n'ra*, &c. Lest any of you be hardened, &c.

Moreover, that that clause *ia m' n' n'ra n'ra*, is not in any wise an exception from the foregoing prohibition not to swear, but rather a caution not to swear on pain of judgement, or condemnation, is yet more evident by the Word *n'ra*, which being of *n'ra*. *Cado*, *prosterior*, *incide*, &c. signifies properly a falling into some kind of mischief or danger, which attends the doing of some matter prohibited, and not a coming as a Witness before a Court of Judicature, and 'tis nonsensical to express such an appearance by a verb of such signification: For what sense were it to say, Never swear except you fall into; *alias* incur the danger of a Judgment-suit? But it's good sense to say, lest ye fall under Judgment, or into condemnation.

In full and final evidence of this yet further, that it's a caution not to swear on pain of condemnation, and not an exception from the command not to swear; we have one place much like to this in

in phrase and sence, viz. I Tim. 3. 5. *ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο δις ἐν ἑπὶ τῷ πνεύματι καὶ διαβόλῳ*, lest being puffed up with pride, he fall into the condemnation of the Devil. And ver. 7. *ἵνα μὴ ἐν ἰδοις ἡμετέρας ἐν τῷ καὶ ἐν τῷ καὶ ἐν τῷ*, Lest he fall into reproach and the snare of the Devil.

Again, if it were to be rendered so, except ye come before a Judgement-seat, it would argue it to be permitted as lawful to swear in all manners, kinds and cases before specified, in a Court; but that cannot possibly be, for then these two absurdities would follow:

1. Whereas James sayes, Swear not by Heaven, nor by Earth, nor by any other Oath, except before a Court of Judicature, it would follow, that in case men do come before a Court of Judicature, then they may lawfully swear either by Heaven, or by Earth, or by any other Oath, as well as by God alone; which were most gross and absurd to imagine.

2. Whereas James sayes, Let your *Yea* be *Yea*, and your *Nay*, *Nay*; and Bish. Gauden's interpretation of those clauses, Let your *yea* be *yea*, and your *nay*, *nay*, is this, p. 32. viz. That they import that plainness and simplicity of Christians meaning and doing, as may be consonant to their words in truth and honesty, without fraud or falsity; I would follow thus, viz. use all simplicity and plainness, and let your meaning and doing be consonant to your words, except ye come before a Judgement-seat, and then ye need not let your *yea* be *yea*, or your *nay*, *nay*, that is, need not let your meaning be consonant to your words in truth and honesty, without fraud or falsity, which were an absurdity more exceedingly gross than the former.

Seeing then they are an universal negative, expressly excluding of all swearing, without limitation or exception, what hinders why they may not punctually be taken in that plain way wherein they are express, we see not.

But the Bish. who rather darkens than opens the clear counsel of God, by words without knowledge, enters his dissent, and puts in his exception to the contrary here in such wise as others, who are already confuted, have done before: for as Fer. Ives sayes, those general terms, Swear not at all, admit of an exception, sometimes universal Propositions are taken with restrictions; so says the Bish. p. 13, many things in some Scriptures are expressed in universalities, which are limited

mitted to the subject intended. And p. 32, 33. *As for that absolute and universal Negative of not swearing at all, nothing is more clear and usual in Scripture, than to confine the meaning of such generals, to the particular subject and scope intended: Negatives and affirmatives in Scripture, are limited in the sense, though seeming universal in the Letter or Words.*

Ans. 1. What if it be so sometimes, and in some places, will it follow infallibly (as it must do if the Bish. reach his end in reference to the Quakers, which is undeniable demonstration in order to their infallible conviction) that it is so ever? so every where? so here at this time, or in this place? Divines use to tell us, that the literal sense of the words must not be departed from for a figurative or foreign, without an evident necessity forcing thereunto; but here is as little evident necessity of such a thing, as there is of any swearing at all, which the Bish. himself confessing that it is neither needed among true Christians, nor to be heeded among false ones, concludes the non-necessity or uselessness of altogether,

2. Whereas he says, nothing is more clear and usual in Scripture, than to confine general terms to particular meanings, that's utterly untrue, for if there be any, as there are many Parables and Proverbs, (which mayes of Wisdom are all plain to him that understands, though dark sayings to him that knows not the mystery of God's Kingdom) and if some general Rules do admit of some exception &c some universal terms limited in their sense, yet something is more clear and usual then that; for it's far more clear when things are intended literally, as they are expressed, for that's a more cloudy and dark saying in which one thing is spoken, and another intended. 2. More usual also for the Spirit of God to mean plainly, as he speaks, and to intend as universally as he talks, and not (as some Divines, whom we have had to do with, tell us) that in terminis he offers salvation unto all, but intends it only to a few; for then who can tell ordinarily what he means in any thing?

3. If 'twere never so usual elsewhere, yet it's of all places the least likely to be so here in these two Texts, in both which the Bishop out of Commentators observes, that there seems at first sight to be such divine, strict, point-blank prohibition of all manner of swearing among Christians, and that by Christ's own authority, who calls his Discipels

ciples so strictly in the following words out of *strife* itself, the ending of which is the end of *Oaths*, that he would have no resisting evil, nor striving as Law in his Church, 1 Cor. 6.1, 2. and consequently out of *Oaths*, that were for the ending of *strife* under the Law where it stood; and so out of, over and above that Law of the servant *Moses*, that indig'd and allowed both *Oaths* and *strife*, into that Gospel of love, which works no ill to the neighbour, and so fulfills the Law, in the most excellent way, yea the price of the high call of God in Christ *Jesus*, whose call is not to such uncleanness, as evil hearts and manners, dissimulations, defraudings, over-reacings, thefts, injuriousness, unrighteousness, distrusts, infirmitates, and janglings, but unto holiness before him, and peace one with another: And lastly with such emphatical and vehement words (as 'tis also confessed) as make the two Texts not onely to seem by the words to be universal in their sense, nor onely to seem strict and point-blank, against all swearing on pain of evil and condemnation, nor onely to seem to stand as the Angel of the Lord against *Balaam*, with a sword in their hand to stop the way of all swearing whatever; (and we have little reason to believe those two Texts to be such a pair of Apocryphal (much less Hypocritical) pieces, as to seem to be what they are not, or speak another matter than they intend.) but also in reality are (ex confesso) both dark and dubious to the discomfiter himself, that discomfites for that unchristian course of Christians swearing: All which considerations, though many false Prophets who (*Balaam*-like) love the wages of unrighteousness, more than either to bless, or to be blessed with God's Israel, as unconscionably as inconsiderately poison, may possibly cause not onely the Civil Powers, whom they serve, to wax weary of them, but also to force the poor spur-gall'd people, whom the said false Prophets so unmercifully ride, like so many dull and dumb Asses to fall down at last under the burden of their spiritual Tyranny, and being smitten by them, because they can go no farther for fear of the Angel of the Lord, to open their mouths, and with man's voice rebuke the madness of the Prophets.

4. Though we own that sometimes general Rules and universal expressions admit of exceptions and limitations; yet then those limitations, exceptions and restrictions, are either expressed, or at least those manifestly and undeniably implied in the same Text, or in the same Testament, where those general expressions are, as is so abundantly

by *showed already in our Answers to others* *, that * See the Answer for the avoiding of tedious repetitions of what repeated, p. 37, 38; mains will *unanswered*, we shall say no more here 59. in that particular.

But as to the universal prohibition in this Text, *Mat. 5.* there is not only no expression of any such exception, nor yet in any other part of all the Scriptures of the New-Testament, but rather in the same Text a fuller explication of the same universal expression by sundry of such particulars of it, as are (if any can so be) as express'd so far more forcibly, and even utterly exclusive and exceptive of all sorts of swearing, as sin and evil, from the whole conversation and communication of Christians, which such transactions, as they may be conversant in in Courts of Judicature, are surely a part of, as well as any other, *Swear not at all, by Heaven, Earth, Jerusalem, the Head, &c.* but let your communications be *Yea, Yea, Nay, Nay,* what is more than these, cometh of evil. And 2. there is in the same Testament by the Apostle *Jam. 5.* a re-inforcement of the same universal prohibition of that sin of swearing, in terms more universally and strictly exclusive of all Oaths (and then surely of Oaths by the Name of God, as well as ought else) *On pain of condemnation, Swear not by Heaven, Earth, &c. nor any other Oath, but let your yea be yea, your nay, nay, lest ye fall into condemnation.*

5. And because the Bish. says, *It's agreed on all all hands that both places are a strict prohibition against the sin of Swearing, but not against such swearing, as is no sin; taking it for granted before it be given him by us, that there is now (as under the Law there was) some swearing, which is no sin, but an act of duty, according to which conceit of his he states p. 20. a threefold Question about the interpretation, Scope and meaning of the two Texts,*

1. Whether all swearing be utterly forbidden, because it is, and ever was in its nature a sin against Morality?

Of 2. Whether all Swearing is therefore now a sin, because thence forbidden by a positive Law of Christ under the Gospel?

3. Whether only some sort of Swearing, which is a sin, is forbidden, but not such swearing as is no sin, but an act of veneration?

To all this we reply. 1. That howbeit we affirm not all swearing to be forbidden, because it is, and ever was in its nature a sin against Morality; (for swearing that now is sin, was one of those Ceremonialities of the Law, which in their nature were not sin, but duty,

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for the time then being being as all legal rites were, subservient to, but not against the morality of the Gospel, for the shadows were not against the substance, nor the Ceremonials against the Morals and Fiducials, nor of them so, as to be de esse to them, as Paul says the Law was not of Faith, yet not against it: For as Ministerial as the Law was to the Gospel then, yet the Gospel may be, and now is without it.)

Yet 2dly, We own not any swearing to be now a duty, or all of Justice, as some swearing once was under the Law, but affirm all swearing to be now a sin upon the second account, viz. because now forbidden by a positive Law of Christ under the Gospel, who by his death ended the Law, or Right of that, and many more Legal Rites and Rudiments, so that however they may de facto be continued, not more without the guilt and sin, at least, of superstition, than pompous High-Priests Sacrificings and Circumcisions, Nephews, Leys, meats, drinks, and other holinesses of the Law, which though accessary to the Gospel, yet so little pertinent to it, that who so pleads the necessary practice and performance of them now among Christ's Disciples, made Christ of so little effect to himself, as that he shall profit them nothing.

So then, even that sort of swearing, which was not sin (*simpliciter*, and *ex sua natura*) in its nature under the Law, as a thing against the Morality of the Gospel, is now a sin upon the account of his universal prohibition of all swearing, who was of Authority to put an end (as he did also by his death) unto the Law.

And as some things are prohibita quia mala (as they speak) forbidden because they are sin and evil in their very nature, as envy, hatred, deceit, injury, unrighteousness, being all not only not of the Gospel, Grace and Truth that came by Christ, but eternally against the morality of it; so some things are mala quia prohibita, sin and evil, because they are forbidden; and of this sort are these ceremonies, circumcisions, sacrifices, swearings, and other Ordinances of the Law, once commanded by Moses, since ended and forbidden under Christ, of an indifferent nature in themselves, having so much good in them, that they have no evil; and so much evil, that they have no good, but merely according as they are (respectively) commanded by the Servant, or prohibited by the San in their respective Houses.

Now against that universal acception of the Texts as a general prohibition of all swearing, seeing no exception can be found in all the

the Scripture; the Bish. puts in three things by way of exception. He presumes (p. 36.) those after evidences in the Gospel, (as he calls them) of Christ's verily, verily, and Paul's calling God to witness, do sufficiently clear the limited meaning of our Saviour. But his presumption in that particular to be vain, is sufficiently proved above.

He urges also against the said universal acceptation by way of exception, the moral nature, end and use of an Oath, which saith he, p. 36. God hath instituted, without any repeal by Christ or his Apostles. In disproof of which morality of the nature of an Oath, we have said enough before, as also how, whatever Oaths God instituted of old by Moses the Servant, (who de novo gave out, and so was said to give or institute sundry things that were before him, and not of him, but of the Fathers, as Circumcision, 1 John 19, 22. Sabbath, Sacrifice as well as Swearing) those he ended in his Son, and hath repealed both by him, Matth. 5. and his Apostle, Jam. 5. which Texts, whether they be Repeals or not (sub judice lis est) is the main point in Question, in evidence of which that they are, we have said so much already for our Tea, in confutation of what the Bish. hath brought for his Nay.

But whereas he urges by way of exception, against the universal sense of the prohibition, the occasion, scope and end of Christ's and the Apostles words, to which his own instance by way of explication of his meaning, do best direct us, as to what he forbids and enjoins.

We say, those matters rightly weighed, do all plead the Cause of the Quakers, more than the Bishops, and that is evidently manifest by sundry passages, wherein the Bish. in his examination of the said matters, most manifestly manages his own business against himself.

In order to the opening of the true occasion of Christ's words, the Bish. says thus of the whole Sermon, of which these words, swear not at all, &c. are a part, viz.

Bish. Our Saviour gives many singular Precepts of more eminent diligence, patience, charity, mortification, self-denial, sincerity, conspicuity, perseverance, and perfection of obedience, required now under the Gospel, above what either the Letter of the Mosaic Law seem'd to exact, or by the Pharisaical interpretations were taught the Jews, &c. And p. 27, 28. However by Divine indulgence and connivance, they might seem to have some temporary Dispensation heretofore granted them;

them; yet now under the Evangelical strictness to which Christ came to restore or raise the Church, they might not fancy to themselves any such liberty, but were to keep themselves in thought, look, desire, word and deed, [mark, not only] to that sanctity and severity, which was required by the Law, (but also) most conform to the holy Will, Attributes and Nature of God, whom they ought to imitate, as their heavenly Father, in all sacred perfections, which humane nature, assisted by the light of the Gospel, the grace of God's Spirit, and the visible example of Christ, was capable to attain.

Ans. In which sayings, let all men that are of any spiritual understanding, see if the Bish. himself do not speak as one that interprets the words of Christ (in that point of swearing) as unreasonably exclusive of all swearing, even that which by Divine indulgence was conniv'd at under the Law, as well as that prophane swearing, which was then forbidden, as well as now, whilst he says Christ requires greater perfection of patience, love, self-denial, strictness, sanctity, severity, than Moses Law, even such perfection of obedience as conforms to God's holy Will and Nature, to the Light of the Gospel, the Grace of God's Spirit, and the visible example of Christ, to the measure of the stature of the fulness of whom the Saints are capable by the true Ministry to be built up, Eph. 4. Whose example was said to strive, Match. 12. 1 Pet. 2. whose humane nature attain'd to a state beyond strife, whose Light, Spirit and Grace, leads into the love that admits of doing no ill to the neighbour, Whose Gospel calls us far out of strife, the cause of Quarrels, that it requires not to be overcome with, not to resist evil, but overcome it with good, to love, and do good to enemies, when the Letter of the Law of Moses (which the Bish. says the Gospel must exceed) allowed to hate, to be reveng'd on Enemies, Egyptians, Amalekites, to take an eye for an eye,

* For according to the Gospel, though the Law is self-expressly allowed it, the Lord says by the Prophet, Mal. 2. 16. he hates putting away.

a tooth for a tooth, whose Gospel in other points forbids and condemns rash anger, lust after women, polygamy, divorces (except for Fornication *) rendering evil for evil, &c. (while the Letter no more than actual Murder, Adultery, indulging & conniving at polygamy, humane divorces, stripes for stripes wounds, and in that point of swearing forbids and condemns not only forswearing, but all swearing) while the Law allowed of, indulg'd & con-

and *as commanded*, and gave dispensation (for the whole Law of Moses was given by the dispensation of Angels, in the hand of that Mediator) for a time to some swearing, and such swearing even by God, as was us'd in order to end strife, where it was yet standing, (so be they perform'd their Oaths to God, or one another, that they made by him) condemning no more than Creature-swearing, (as the Bish. calls it) as by Malacum, (as well as God) by Heaven, Earth, &c. and for swearing, or not performing what Oaths by the Name of God, they had made to God, or to each other.

It's most evident then by the Bishops confession here, that Christ in every point condemns something, which not onely the Pharisees by their false glosses, and abusive, loose interpretations of the Law allowed, but what the Law it self, even Divine indignance dispensed with, conniv'd at, and by Moses suffered, i. e. commanded, so to be*, because of the hardness of their hearts, which (as to the point of swearing) was swearing by his Name alone (if they must needs swear) as a way to end the strife and envying, which by reason of their distrusts and jealousies, and the hardness of their hearts, they were full of, and fallen into.

* For Moses of him'self (the servant that knows not what his Master does) could not give dispensation against any command of God, for then he had not been faithful, as he was in all his house, according to the pattern of Gods Precepts shew'd him in the holy Mount.

Otherwise let the Bish. or any man living, shew us wherein Christ commands a righteousness or perfection that exceeds that of the Law, (as it's confess'd he does) for the Law said, Swear not by any creature, but by God onely, and forswear not; and if the Gospel say no more, but swear not by any Creature, as Heaven, Earth, &c. but by God onely, and forswear not, where's that higher state of perfection? that Love that excludes strife, (and consequently Oaths, which are but to end strife where it is) and that perfect conformity to Christ, who neither strove nor swore, and to his humane nature, Light, Spirit and Grace, that leads up out of strife, the occasion of Oaths? All which high attainments the Bish. confesses Christ come to bring man up to under the Gospel.

Bish. But the Bish. hath yet one more strong string to his Bow (as he judges) which is indeed his *ultimum refugium*, which if it fail, all his sacking is loosned, and his whole talk about the limitation of the universal Negative in those Texts, must betake it self to its heels, for

for any help it can hope to have from himself or any other; and that is a strong conceit, begotten in his mind from some few Authors, testifying of a certain sort of vulgar familiar Oaths, or forms of common swearing by whatever came next to their hands and tongues, as by the Temply, holy Cury, their own and others heads, hands, lives, and souls, by heaven, earth, the light, waving the attestation of God, and swearing by his Name, and putting the character of Divinity upon the creature; and not only upon small and light occasions, but even in things of concern, as to that charity, justice, and equity, which they owed to others, of old in use among the Jews, (as among many Christians now) which way of Creature-swearing they chose (saith he) because they fancied such Oaths, being not with the solemn invoking of Gods Name, were not binding upon their souls, but such as they might play fast and loose with, as their own interest, or pleasure sway'd them; as they could not do with Oaths made according to the laws command by Gods Name, for those they thought binding.

¶ On this occasion (saith the Bp. p. 29, 30.) and to reform these gross abuses, Christ gives that command, swear not at all: that is, not after those usual, presumptuous, unlawful forms, by the names of Creatures, of which he gives so many instances to express his meaning, when he doth not instance in the lawful use of religious Oaths by the name of God: telling them there was in those Oaths by any Creature, Heaven, Earth, Jerusalem, the Temple, &c. a tacit, calling of God to witness, since every creature depends on God, and is in relation to him, as Heaven is his Throne, Earth his Footstool, Jerusalem his City; and lastly, implying that however such Oaths were as to the manner unlawful, yet they obliged, if the matter of them were lawful; so that they were not excus'd from perjury in not performing, and p. 35. for these their new, and customary forms of swearing, it being the almost only swearing in fashion among them, Christ blaming in them, and aiming at, gives such a prohibition of swear not at all, that is, (saith the Bish. p. 20.) not by those Oaths, in which you now make no scruple to swear and forswear: not at all for matter and manner as ye have accustomed your selves to swear contrary or beyond what God allowed in his law:

Ans^r. In this place we confess the Bish. though he strains hard for it, hath made as fair a flourish, and spread as broad sails, as in any part of all his book besides it, yet all will not help to carry him

him on to the accomplishment of that work at first undertaken by him against the Quakers, viz. the justification of the lawfulness of any swearing, or the defence of that limited sense, he would put upon the universal Terms in the two Texts, wherein Christ and his Apostle forbid all swearing; such it's most evident to any but such as wrack their Inventions on the Tenter to find out, wherewith to draw them their own way for their own interest, that (as in the other points immediately next both before it, and behind it, viz. of divorce, and of loving deportment towards injurious ones and enemies) so in this of Oaths Christ prohibits and condemns not only those gross abuses of those things that by Divine indulgence they had a dispensation for under the law, which abuses crept in by the Pharisaical false glosses, too much losing the meaning of Gods law by Moses, by their depraved examples, or popular customs, but prohibits and condemns also those very things, which, in regard of their hardness of heart, distrusts and wicked cruelties, God himself in the very letter of the law it self then indulg'd them in, and gave them both a dispensation and a precept for at that time by the law: And so as the law of old time (before the false glosses and selfish senses of the Scribes and Pharisees came in) whereby they wrested and perverted it to their own wills and lusts, said in *smethings* so as it was not said from the beginning, in the state of innocency, while man was merciful as his heavenly father is merciful: If a man like not his wife on a light occasion let him put her away: And in case of injury, as he hath done so shall it be done to him again, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, stripe for stripe, wound for wound: And in case of enmity, hate thine enemy (for the Jew might spit the Egyptian, and might not spare Amaleck.) But the Gospel saith, God hates putting away (except for fornication) Love enemies, Resist not evil, Do good to them that hate you; Be like your Father that begets out of that old Image and nature of the Devil, into his own, Be perfect as he is perfect, &c. In case of strifes, and misbeliefs, dissatisfactions, jealousies, insecurities among themselves, in which case Oaths were then allowed, God said by Moses in the law, *swear the Lord thy God and swear by his name, Deut. 6. 13.* But swear not falsely by his name, *Levit. 19. 13.* For swear not, but perform: So by Christ his Son, and his Apostle in the Gospel swear not at all, not only not by creatures, heaven, earth, &c. but also not by God himself; for whereas the Bish. says Christs

instancing

instancing of creatures, shews his meaning is to forbid only that kind of Creature swearing, but not swearing by God, for he doth not instance in the use of Oaths by his name. We say James uses an exclusive expression equivalent to an instancing in that form of swearing by the name of God, while (for brevities sake) he addeth neither by any other Oath. Therefore if swearing by the name of God be an Oath, he must of necessity intend the forbidding of that Oath, which is the most notable Oath of all, or else of necessity have some way or other plainly excepted it, otherwise he had much darkned that counsel of God in the Gospel, which his scope, aim, and end was to make more clear, whilst he then had left them in doubts about the thing, which though they practically erred in, yet, as to the Theory of it, was most manifest in the letter of their law before, for the law expressly condemned all prophane irregular Creature swearing, though they wickedly mis'd it (as Christians (so call'd) now do) and all forswearing, but expressly allowed and commanded swearing by God himself. But the Gospel, which is a clearer promulgation of Gods will (built upon the Bishops principles) have been such an obscure declaration of it, as leaves it more dubious and difficult to be understood, as to the truth of it, then it was before, extending one thing (in words) and in sense intending another.

2. Christs own expressions, as well as James's in the affirmative part, shew his meaning in the negative to be a prohibition of all swearing as well as any. And here we must take leave to have seeing with the Bishops eyes, and follow what we most clearly see with our own, and to use one of the Bishops Arguments *ad Modum* to conclude the clean contrary to what he concludes from it, and to argue with it against himself.

For whereas p. 31. the Bish. says, that his limited sense of Christs words against some swearing only, not all, was Christs meaning in the negative part of his words, appears and is proved by the affirmative part of them.

Ans. We shall shoot his own Arrow wherewith he thinks he hath hit us, back again to him out of his own bow, and say quite contrary to him thus, viz. that the universal sense of Christs words against all swearing, not some only, was Christs meaning in the negative part of his words, appears and is proved by the affirmative part of them: which howbeit, he says, the Quakers themselves will (he supposes) confess, must not be taken in an exclusive latitude,

code, or a broad universality of command; yet (as John supposes) he much mistakes himself, for the Quakers affirm that the affirmative parts of both their speeches, which are, *Let your communication be yea, yea; nay, nay;* for what ever is more than that is of evil: let your yea, be yea, and your nay, nay; lest ye fall into condemnation, must be taken in an exclusive latitude or bend, any of command: howbeit not indeed such an odd con- sidered kind of universality of command, as the Bish. fancies as en- joining to use no other words in any communication, by way of as- suming or denying, but barely and only these syllables of yea, and nay, for the Quakers (as very fools as the Bish. would make them) are not so silly as to affect it as (as he fancies they do) close very Monosyllables, as if they fancied themselves verbally rich in them, (any more than they fancy themselves, (as some others do) syllabically rich in the patter over their Pater noster in certain words without variation from that individual form of words, Mat. 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13. Luk. 11, 2, 3, 4. Our Father which art in heaven, &c. which if men pray after the manner of to this same effect, they may so vary from, as to use different words; neither do the Quakers scruple to use such paraphrases or enlargements of speech; as the matter or the matter under- standing, or diffidence may stand in need of, as God is witness, we speak in his presence, or the like.

For the Quakers affirm Christ's words must be taken (though not in such an exclusive latitude, as to forbid more ample ex- pressions of their sense; than the bare syllables yea, and nay, or such an universality of command, as the prelates thereunto) yet in such universality of command, as limits Christians to affirma- tions and negations, or solemn affirmations, without any Oath, and in such an exclusive latitude, as shuts out all swearing whatso- ever, even that which was paid, as well as that which never was lawful, on pain and peril of falling into sin and condemnation for these words, But let your communication, that is, the word of it not only private but public, be yea, and nay; do not only know, that plainness, and simplicity of Christian manner and language may be consonant to their words in truth and honesty, with- out fraud or falshood; but also that fortitude and freedom of their speech from all Oaths, by heaven, earth, or any other Oath, whether of old forbidden or required; and thus appears

H undeniably.

undeniably to any by its being brought in in both Texts; By the affirmative particle [But] by the emphasis of which it stands opposed (as an affirmative to its negative) not only to those words that are prohibitive of forswearing, viz. Thou shalt not forswear thy self; but to those sentences that are prohibitive of all Oaths, viz. Swear not at all, not by Heaven, nor Earth, nor any other Oath, but let your communication be yea, nay, i. e. be without all Oaths, for what's more then that, i. e. then solemn asseveration and negation; it of itself which is as much as if he had said, for whatsoever Oaths or forswearing are used now, as well as forswearing, comes of evil. Otherwile, if the affirmative part be interpreted, as standing in opposition to that part of the negative onely, that prohibits forswearing, it must be such Tautological non-sence as (absit) far be it from us to think Christ should ever speak: Since then this must be the sense, viz. of old times said, Thou shalt not forswear thy self; but let your communication be yea, nay, nay, that is, perform to God thy Oaths in truth and honesty, without fraud; but I (who say more then was said of old) say unto you, Swear not at all, but perform to God thy Oaths in truth and honesty, without fraud; which idem per idem whoever utters is found more in infano sensu, than in sano: But the other way is found sense, viz. I say unto you, Swear not at all by any Oath, but let your communication be yea and nay. Thus gem gem gem to each.

As then the affirmative part of Christ's words must be taken in such an universality and latitude of command, as confines to him, solemn asseverations, assertions or denials exclusively of swearing by Heaven, Earth, or any other Oath, when he sayes, But let your communication be yea, nay, nay, as he saies, for what's more then that.

So the negative part of his words, swear not at all, must be understood in such an universality exclusive latitude, as admits of no Oath, whatsoever among his Disciples.

3. The affirmative particle [But] which stands between those two prohibitions of Moses, saying, Forswear not; thou perform to God thine Oaths; and of Christ saying, [But] I say unto you, Swear not at all, do little less than infallibly manifest it, That Christ forbids all swearing, as much as any; and even such swearing as was not indur'd to them by the Pharisees onely, but by Moses and God himself, who by his servant dispensed with them in, and instructed even their swearing by God's own Name, who never indulg'd them with it, nor dispensed with any of that Creature's swearing that he

he talks of; but threatened *not* to it ever under the Law, and by the Law.

Otherwise again, if *all Oaths* be not forbidden by Christ, as well as *any*, wherein (as to the point of *swearing*) does he prescribe righteousness and perfection above, or beyond that of his servant *Moses*, whom he was to exceed? by which *Moses* God in the Law is said to universally forbid all other *Oaths*, save solemn swearing by his own Name, that there was no more swearing left for Christ to forbid his Disciples, than what *Moses* had before forbidden to his own Disciples, if he might not forbid all that *swearing* by *God* himself which the Law allowed of.

Besides the *non-sense* that he must be supposed to speak, if he forbid not some *swearing* which of old was commanded, appears in the particle [*But*] for that it must run (according to the Bishop's supposition) Ye have heard of old from *Moses* in the Law, ye must not swear your selves; But I (who forbid more than *Moses* ever did) say this unto you, Swear not at all by any of those *Oaths* which *Moses* forbade before me; but only by such as he allows you. We lay on this account (as to *swearing*) Christ indulges and dispenses with as much as *Moses*; and God under the Gospel, as much as God under the Law, for neither God nor *Moses* in the Law (howe'er the Law be strict) as at it ever (as yet) finding a will or approbation of any irregular, prophane, or *Creature* swearing, and God and Christ in the Gospel (at that rate the Bishop reckons) usually no other. The opposition then which lies intimated in that *But* particle [*But*] being not between *for* swearing, and *prophane* swearing, but between *for* swearing in it, and *no* swearing now, the Law Christ's intent to be to prohibit all *swearing*. For 'tis indeed as if he had said thus; God under the Law commanded you to swear by his Name; and when you had sworn by him in truth to perform the *Oath* ye made; I thus, whether to him, or any other.

But I say now, God allows you not to swear at all, nor by *Heaven*, *Earth*, nor any other *Oaths*; nor not those *Oaths* which ye did; and might as well make unto the Lord your God in things lawful (but no *Oath* by a *creature*) did God count as an *Oath* made to himself, more than he counted their solemn *Professions* to be unto him, *Oaths* provided ye perform'd it when ye had done.

5. Christ doth instance in the use of *swearing* by the Name of God virtually, though not formally, whilst he instances in the use of *swearing* by Heaven, Earth, &c. forasmuch as *swearing* by Heaven (as Christ saies *Matth. 23. 22.*) is a *swearing* by the Throne of God, and by him that sits therein; therefore *swearing* by God is implied, if not expressly excluded: And this the Bish. himself also confesses, p. 30. viz. That even in these Oaths, which were attested only by the naming of any creature, as by Heaven, Earth, Jerusalem, the bread, &c. There was a tacit calling God to witness, which if there be, then (according to the Bish. who saies an Oath is no more than an attestation of God, who is witness to all we say and do, p. 28.) *swearing* by the Name of God, which was once allowed and required, is here excluded and prohibited.

But however that the Bish. may not have occasion to lay me deal *sophistically* with him, and not so *sincerely*, and *plainly* to come to the Truth, we will confess with him, that there was but a kind of *periphrastic creature-swearing*, an *irregular form of swearing* by the Name of God, the *formality* & *themselfation*, which he also confesses with us, is here forbidden, seeing it was but a kind of *Tacit* or *implicit* *swearing* by him, and not that *plain express* *swearing* by his Name, which the Law commanded, while it forbids the other. But what will the Bish. be advantaged in his cause by our *concession*, so long as he asserts it is only this *tacit* *swearing* by God under the *express* *attestation* of some creature, which the Law were transgressed in, in the breach of which Oaths, they themselves did not *forswear* themselves, that is by Christ and James here forbidden, for the *transgression* of which *expressly*, and to *renew* and *renew* them to that right legal form of *swearing* only and *expressly* by God's Name, Christ speaks thus *swear not at all: Nor upon more than the just censure of* *falsifying* *such an absurd case upon their words*, as we judge no wise man will own to be the *express* of either Christ or the Apostle: for at that rate the *express* *form* of their words must be to this effect: *We have heard it said to us by the Law of old time, Ye shall not forswear your selves, but perform to the Lord your Oaths, which you made tacitly by him while ye were with us, religiously, solemnly and expressly by some creature, which Oaths by the Law were, though they were not sworn by God, ye held your selves not obliged to perform: But now I say*

and you swear up at all I mean, swear no more so tacitly, so implicitly by the name of God, as ye were wont to do, but when ever ye swear (I provided ye perform your Oaths) swear out aloud, more solemnly, more expressly, more plainly, more openly by Gods Name than ye have done formerly.

It is evident enough by the Bishops own words, that as well solemn Oaths by God himself, as those familiar Oaths by creatures (in which the Bish. sayen they tacitly swear by God, are forbidden by Christ for: swear not at all is (sayes the Bish. p. 20.) as much as to forswear by those Oaths in which you make use no scruple to swear and forswear.

Which is so, then solemn Oaths by the Name of God expressly, being such Oaths as in which the Jews made no scruple to swear and forswear, those are forbidden as well as the other.

And whereas the Bish. tells us (as Phile and Josephus tell him) they promised a great reverence of the Name of God, and learn'd to make great avoidance of swearing in Leviticus in small matters by the Name of the Lord, according to the Letter of the Scripture, and made scruple to swear at all by (יהוה) the Lord himself.

We say, they might well be scrupulous of taking the Name of God upon every trivial, frivolous matter, and so decline the mentioning of it, and flee to the commission of some creature, what

unnecessary to mind and tongue. But in blood and riches sales of concern, and in judgments as they were not, it being expressly required according to the Letter of the Law, so they did not scruple in swearing by Gods own Name; The Name Elohime they might possibly scruple and shrink at the naming of, as they did, and do at the naming of the Name which I forbear. But this Name Elohime they oft as superstitiously repeat, that in their oath taking, as they superstitiously decline to much as the bare mentioning of the other.

But that in solemn cases and occasions of gravity, as to that which is honour and equity they are not averse, they should decline, I repeat and now, as the Bish. says they did, p. 19.) to swear by the Name

The more shame therefore to Christians (so call'd) that have no such great reverence of the Name of God Oaths Jews had, when they should exceed in strictness) but that they can swear in every toy and trifle, by Gods Name, as should and should not, they should think on him

of God, when their Scripture was so express for it, and chose that way of Creature Swearing, there's not onely no reason at all to believe it, but one grand Reason of the Bishops own (reasons) rendering for it, but against himself, whereupon to believe the contrary, viz. because (as the Bish. says, p. 19.) they *favoured such Oaths being not with their solemnity of invoking Gods Name, nor as binding upon their souls either as to truth or right, but they might play and loose with them, according as their own pleasure and interest sway them; which if it have as much of truth in it, as it hath of weight and strength, hath reason enough to persuade any reasonable men, that the Jews in their solemn swearings in weighty matters, did not scruple nor wave swearings by Gods Name (which Oaths they All thought binding) and wave that swearing by creatures in order to the satisfaction and security of each other, and by such Oaths as they judge not to be so obligatory, but that they might safely either break or keep them at their pleasure; for such Oaths instead of putting an end unto their jealousies, distrusts, misapprehensions, insecurities, would have assuredly created them far more than before, forasmuch as no more credit is to be given than to a man, who swears never so solemnly and in the most religious manner, solemn Oaths are such as the Swearer believes, that as to a man bound by, than if he had not sworn at all, and such as by many persons for whole satisfaction & security such a one swears, can have no more hold as to know what to trust to, then he hath who takes a word Ends by the Tongue Beside (not to use those words that need the Bishop himself knock the nail on the head for us here) and (though against himself, as in most other cases) proves it to our hands, that the Jews did not scruple to swear by Gods own Name, yea, were so far from scrupling it, that in all cases they would Witness his own words, p. 37. cited out of Drusius.*

And Judges in Judicis Inimici Juris Jurandi Religio (plena) De homine interposito, Drus. Among the Jews, *swearing by the Name of God was confirmed by the Religion of an Oath, wherein the Name of God was interposed.*

And that they made no more scruple of *for swearing by the Name of God what they swear to by the Name of God* (which of themselves is a contradiction) when and where they swear by the Name of God, yet commonly swear to by the Name of God.

It is evident also by the Bishops own words last recited, forasmuch as a common swearer by other Oaths is commonly a false swearer, when swearing seriously by God himself, the wantonness of ease & ordinariness of swearing (as the B. observed out of *Isidorus and Anstus*, p. 42.) in such cases were fornication & dishonesty, begetting a praesumptive swear falsely: Nor is there more credence be given than to a liar, p. 17. many that swear never so solemnly, and in judicium, who is a common swearer. &c.

The *Bish.* then *confessing*, that *Christ* forbids *Matt.* 5. 10 swear by such Oaths in which they made no scruple to swear and forswear, therein *confesses* Oaths by the Name of *God* (which were commanded in the *Law*) to be by *Christ* forbidden there, as well as other Oaths, since the *Jews* made not so much scruple as he imagines to swear by *God*, nor yet (being common swearers also, by any thing that came next to hear and tongue) to lie and break those their vain by creatures when they had done.

And finally, if Christ's words were exacting and prohibitive of all irregular oaths by creatures, because those they scrupled not to make, but incisive and exceptive of solemn Oaths, in solemn cases, by Gods Name upon this score, because they scrupled to swear by them: Then (*ecce moment*) the mind of Christ in those words must be this, viz. I have heard of old, ye should not swear your selves by creature, but I see you doe so, I fear not at all to be so much more in which ye doe, when I scruple to swear so, but I fear only by such Oaths in which ye may make self scruple to swear, which sense he that can find any sound sense, serious use, or solidity in,

and being thus left from London, and being so great a supply of
from heretofore from Seile, which does the first of the Bishop's
case against the Quakers in the case of Swearing, viz. his own
and more common than proper communications upon those
points, Mr. James being out of which from that matter
and being therein expressed, he would say, even
some

Some solemn swearing, at least in Judicial proceedings: We have them rightly rendered by us, to the review of all reasonable and understanding men, by whom they will be seen to stand against the Canon-shot which the Bish. hath directed us against them (some of which hath done most execution upon himself) as that thing held out of which the Quakers cannot be severed, so as to sever that Interest they have therein, as to their Plea for no swearing among true Christians; and as Jacobin and Buz; that stand in strength and stability it self, before the true spiritual Temple of the Lord, against the faces of all that would enter to defile it with their own inventions and impositions in point of Oaths.

And as for that which he says! (p. 26.) he adds to his Reason (by way of full measure, heaped up; and running over) viz. the contrary *ren Judgement of other Christians and Churches:*

'Tis true, he fills up his measure, (for his Reason are as full as hold out) by heaping up the sayings of many Christians; which are so far from such concurrence as he speaks of, that indeed they are thererun against, and contriv to the contradicting of one another, some (if not most of them, as is showed above) testifying more plainly and groundedly against all swearing, than the rest whom the Bish. sides with, do for any swearing.

Seeing then there remains no more to make up his scanty wood store with, but the empty bark and chaff of words of some Councils or Churches of Romish and Reformed; and of Christian (perhaps not truly such) whose sayings are perverted by many misapprehending Fathers and Christians of the Bishops clergy, perhaps more truly such, we shall save our selves and the world the labour and misery of writing and reading what is of so little value with us, it is of small importance to the purpose.

And now at last seriously and solemnly again professing as at first that the Bishops undertakings (not for want of willingness in us to see it to be truth, if that were the truth indeed, which is pleaded by him against the Quakers, but for want of true understanding in all he says to show it so to be) hath not succeeded to either the removing of our difficulties, or satisfaction of our Conscience, that any further at all is either needed, or ought to be used among us, let any that are Christian truly such, justify the Bish. and his Clergy in that disposition of the Bish. for swearing, *was built on, and ed on*

which, which was the professed, immediate end of his Book, and the end of those ten particulars of which his Work to us-ward (if ever effectually accomplish'd) doth consist.

We rashly and rashly, appeal to all wise and sober-minded men, who shall impartially peruse and weigh what is above said. Whether in this case of our non-conviction by the Bishops as defectors or successful endeavours to inform us, or of our non-subscription to his conception, and non-submission to swear against conviction, according to the foresaid Imposition, we are undoubtedly without more ado to be denominated such wilful resistors, and Obdurate offenders against the Law, as worthily fall under the severe penalties of the late Act, whereby (though yet contrary to the tenor and true intent thereof, in respect of their exception, who never held that *Maxime in Law, that Judicium penale nunquam encensum*) we now so sorely suffer; and also whether we suffer in so doing so justly, as to be left without Plea for our selves, and without any just excuse before both God and Man.

Nevertheless however the second page of the Bishops Book speaks our humblest design to be (in case our difficulties be not so removed by this course of his discourses concerning public Oaths, that we can swallow such Swearings without staining, as fast as they are impos'd on us) that we may necessarily suffer severity for our obduracy, yet seeing at the close of his Book he says at least, he hath no design to us-ward, but to dispose our needless scruples and superfluous fears (as he calls them) to show us our safe liberty to obey, and how we may escape the penalties for disobeying the Law, &c. In answer to which, he expects his gains and charges should be as little.

We declare, That his pains is full as Acceptable to us call'd Quaker, as that pity to us, and charity he pretends to, is True Quaker (which how far forth it is, we leave to God and his own Conscience to judge of) Though first it hath not obtain'd its professed end to us-ward, so far as to clear our understandings any other than the clean contrary way to what he aims at, by the sight of how little Demonstration the Bishops are able to make for that swearing they consent and concur to have impos'd: Nor 2^{dly}, to remove our scruples, since (as was said) we

we were before without scruple or doubt of it; that our denial of that swearing that's impos'd on us, is lawful and right before God, howere it seems so or so in the sight of men: Nor 2dly, so as to reduce us to our due obedience, for we are not out of it, (seeing as if swearing be not lawful before

God, it's due obedience to him not to obey men actively, who impose it: so if Swearing were lawful, yet at least our Consciences being not convinced that it is, we obey God, to whom

(as the Bishop says pag. 23.) we Christians owe the highest love, loyalty and obedience; our obedience to whom cannot be disobedience to those Laws of men that are just and agreeable to his Laws, and besides where we obey not Actively, we do it Passively, by suffering violence without making any violent resistance, which Passive obedience all wise men own to be true obedience, as well as Active. Nor 3dly, so as to redouble our Judgements, which were once irregular, when we made no Conscience thereof, but return'd to their rectitude, when we became so tender as to fear an Oath. Nor 4thly, so as to stop that, which he is pleas'd (not for want of mistake, error and superstition) to call the contagion of our error and superstition, to others in this point; for we are perswaded many will be convinced (as well as some are already convinc'd) against all swearing, seeing how little the Bishop have to say, and shew in confirmation of it. Nor 5thly, so as to the redeeming us from the penalties of the Law; for they are now with full measure heaped up, and running over, even beyond the bounds of the Law itself, threatening and insisting upon several of us: Nor 7thly, and lastly, so as to redeem us into safety and peace; for howbeit we live in the eye of the ungodly, and of some Rascals, and to be in danger of perishing in our wanderings; yet (come what will can come to us for our Consciences) we bearkening unto Christ dwell safely, and are at quiet from the fear of

and, being (as the same Seed and sort of Saints before us al-
to were, 2 Cor 4,) though Troubled on every side, yet not dis-
tressed, Perplexed, yet not in despair, Persecuted, yet not for-
saken, Cast down, yet not destroyed.

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Dead and Dedicated in service to the Truth, in the Month called
July 1662. by Samuel Fisher, imprisoned for Conscience by the
space of about Fifteen Months of the two years last past, First
in the Counter. 2dly, In Newgate. 3dly, In the Gate-House.
4thly, In Old-Bridewell. 5thly, Now in Newgate again; Where
(without the least Crime prov'd against him, or so much as laid
to his charge) he stands (with many more so recorded in the ve-
ry Calender) discharged by the Kings late special favour, not-
withstanding which he is not released, but retained.

FINIS.

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p 3 l 7. r. in it, p. 9. l. 8. r. was at least, p. 9. l. 30. r. that he is, p. 11. l. 37. &
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ous, p. 13 l. 25 r. Christians, p. 16 l. 3. read NON p. 21, l. 19 for by in, r.
by, p. 21 l. 20 for in r. is, p. 25 l. 4, for we, r. they, p. 25 l. 7 for of, r. of old,
p. 27 l. 38 r. (if, p. 27 l. 14 r. Diali, p. 30 l. 20 for is all, r. is in all, p. 41 l. 33
r. Positionem, p. 44 l. 39 r. signifies, p. 45 l. 13 for in r. upon, p. 50 l. 13 r.
sum; l. 16 r. yet are so, l. 18 r. makes, l. 19, r. him, p. 55. l. 12 r. dispensation,
p. 61 l. 23. r. as well as, p. 62. l. 13. for wave, r. use.

READER,

Find no fault with what faults thou findest with th' Press,
Correct the greater thus, the rest lack less.

1892

[illegible]

2 14 13

[The page contains faint, illegible handwriting, likely bleed-through from the reverse side.]

RECEIVED

Correct the greatest thing, the least of all.

